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Sentences in Swahili -  
A Study of their Internal Relationships.

Ph.D. Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis is a description of the structure of the units Sentence, Clause and Group in Swahili, and of their interrelationships. It is derivative in that the theory and method used are those of Professor M.A.K. Halliday. It is original in that the application is to a language of which previous descriptions deal mainly with word-morphology and only incidentally with a few relationships between words or higher units. So far as I know this is the first attempt to deal systematically with the language from the point of view of units larger than Word, and the first to do so at all syntactically rather than morphologically. One of the results of attempting an overall description has been that many areas have been exposed where there is uncertainty as to possibilities. Such areas require further investigation, but at least their outlines have been mapped by this work. Some of these new areas have been explored; namely the element R (Referent) in clause structure, one which seems necessary for the description of Swahili and the existence of which has previously been unsuspected; the problem of sequence of clauses, of groups and of words, which has previously scarcely been touched on; and work on intonation patterns and their inter-relation with the sequence of grammatical units, which

is quite new so far as I am aware. A number of small points have also arisen which contradict the generally accepted views of existing grammars, e.g. the tonic need not be on the penultimate syllable; the tenses -nge- and -ngali- can exist in related clauses; the -ki- tense need not be followed by the -ta-; the -nge- tense can be used alone. Finally, the reason for the emergence of some other small new points, such as the frequency of 'adverbial' forms in qualifying groups, may be because, so far as I am aware, this is the first work to be based entirely on spontaneous spoken material.



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## Introduction.

The grammatical theory behind this description of Swahili is that of Professor M.A.K. Halliday. The description attempts to present certain structures of Swahili in terms of the relations between their constituent items, and is thus syntactic rather than morphological in approach.

In this thesis it appears that five units are required and will suffice for the grammatical description of Swahili, namely Sentence, Clause, Group, Word, and Morpheme. Only the first three are considered here, because existing grammars of Swahili already deal with the structure of words, although only from a morphological standpoint.<sup>1</sup> Morphemes, by their nature as the smallest unit of grammatical structure, have no structure in themselves. If they had, there would be a still smaller element of structure in existence, which itself would constitute the smallest grammatical unit.

Each unit consists of one or more of the units next below in rank. (Rank is a scale on which the units are arranged in order, with sentence at one end and morpheme at the other.) Thus a sentence consists of one or more

1. It should be made clear that if this analysis were followed through to the rank of word, the results might well present a slightly different picture from the present accepted orthographic convention. In this sense the work is limited in not going beyond the group.

clauses; a clause consists of one or more groups; a group consists of one or more words; a word consists of one or more morphemes. It follows, incidentally, that a sentence may consist of a single clause, which consists of a single group, which consists of a single word, which consists of a single morpheme; so that the utterance La. 'No.' may be a sentence. However, a word which consists of only one morpheme clearly cannot be described in terms of its constituent morphemes and their relations, and the same is true for higher units. Thus although a sentence may consist of only one clause, there is nothing to say about it in terms of clause relations, and therefore in the chapter on sentences, only those sentences which consist of more than one clause are discussed. Similarly, in the chapter on clauses, only those clauses with more than one group are considered; and in the chapter on groups, only the groups consisting of more than one word are described. In a complete description of the grammar it would be profitable to examine what restrictions there are (if any) on the structure of units which can constitute an entire higher unit, e.g. can all clauses be single-clause sentences, and if so, are there any restricting circumstances? (Some classes of clause may only occur as responses, for example.) This matter is only

occasionally touched on here since in a work of this nature it is not possible to present everything that one would like to include in a complete grammar. Each unit consists of one or more complete unit of the rank next below, and thus all material is accounted for. However, there also occurs a phenomenon known as 'rank-shift', whereby a unit may function within another unit of the same rank as itself, or of the rank next below. Appendix 1 deals with this phenomenon.

Any unit which consists of more than one unit of the rank next below has structure, and this structure is described in the following terms:

1. The number of different elements in its structure.
2. The relationships between these elements.
3. The exponents<sup>1</sup> of those relationships.
4. The systems (choices) that operate at each element of structure.
5. The possible number of occurrences and the distribution of each element.
6. The class of the unit next below that operates at each element.
7. The number of such units that can operate at each element.

1. In this study 'exponent' means any overt grammatical phenomenon which may be taken as making a relationship manifest. (e.g. choice of item; sequence of items; concord; intonation; etc.)

For example, the class Declarative (see section page 57) of the unit Clause has five different elements of structure: S, P, C, A, R. Only P is obligatorily present. The relationships between them are: Subject: Predicator; Predicator: Complement; Adjunct: any other elements present; Referent: Subject, Complement or Adjunct. The exponent of, for example, the relationship S:P is subjectival verbal agreement. At the element C, for example, there is a choice between  $C_1$  and  $C_2$ . There can be only one S element to each P element, for example. S may precede or follow P. At the element P, for example, there operates the unit verbal group, including the subclass copular. At the element S, for example, more than one group can operate, and the relations between them are apposition or linkage.

The units Sentence, Clause and Group are described in these terms. It should also be noted that, just as morphemes, being the smallest units on the scale of rank have no structure in themselves, so sentences, being largest units here considered, can be described only in terms of their internal structure, since there is no larger unit within which relations between sentences can be discussed. It might be possible one day to isolate some larger unit such as 'paragraph' or 'discourse', and to describe sentences within such a unit in relation to each other. Until this can be done rigorously, sentence remains the largest unit.

Relationships are taken to exist (since if not, language would have no structure and would be impossible to describe). Their manifestations, however, are not always overt. Where they are felt to exist but have no overt manifestation, one proceeds by analogy. For example, the presence of the object prefix in the verb manifests the Predicator: Complement relationship, but the prefix is not always present. The relationship is felt to be constant, however. In some cases more than one manifestation signals a particular relationship. Where a relationship is not overtly manifested, however, the investigator may be in something of a dilemma, and indeed in this very case of the relationship P:C there is the question of a possible alternative P:A (Adjunct). This problem is discussed further in Chapter 2, but it serves to illustrate a further point.

The investigator, after considerable exposure to the language, believes he perceives certain relationships. He then picks out features (e.g. word order, agreement, presence of certain items, etc.) which he feels manifests those relationships. There is hardly ever a full correspondence between relationship and manifestation. He tests out his data by other processes such as transformations, changes of sequence, slot-filling and so on, and also considers the role of intonation and

perhaps punctuation. But it seems there always remain some areas of language which can equally well be analysed in more than one way. These areas may be genuinely ambiguous, in which case the possibility of more than one analysis explains their ambiguity, and they may be deliberately exploited in the language for stylistic effect. On the other hand the investigator may find that however he refines his techniques, some areas could be analysed more than one way and it does not seem to make much difference which. Here he has a choice, and may resolve it by analogy, by following earlier investigators, by making what he feels is the more aesthetically pleasing decision, by invoking extra-linguistic criteria, on historical grounds, on comparative grounds, or any other way. Different investigators are liable to make different decisions here. Areas of language where such problems arise are of course more interesting than those where description is straightforward.

It may be, however, that in considering first those areas of language where grammatical relationships are mostly manifested, one is committing oneself to dealing with surface grammar, and that the existence of areas where such grammatical criteria seem irrelevant (since it makes no appreciable difference how one analyses them) suggest the existence of some deeper relationships

(deep grammar) dealing perhaps with more mentalistic notions e.g. 'actor', 'agent' etc., and not reflected, or only obliquely reflected in the surface grammar. However this may be, it seems nevertheless useful to describe the surface grammar as far as possible, and it may indeed be a necessary prerequisite to the study of deeper and more covert relationships.

The terminology used is either traditional, taken from Mrs. Ashton, or adopted from Professor Halliday's work. It should be noted, however, that the definitions of traditional terms are not always traditional. A clause, for example, does not necessarily contain a verb, as in some traditional descriptions of English; here it is used as the name of a unit which is an element in the structure of a sentence.

The material used for this thesis was collected in 1964-5 in coastal villages to the south of Tanga, Tanzania. All the material was taped, in the form of conversations between native speakers, stories, anecdotes, and discussions. My main informant was a young man of the Digo tribe who spoke no English. Other informants were of varying age-groups, from an old carpenter of about 60, who was a boy during the first world war, to school-children of 13 or so. About 15 informants were used in all, some more than others. About half of them were women.



Three or four could speak a little English, but even with these people, our communication was almost always in Swahili. Occupations were: 3 primary school teachers, 2 carpenters, a woman factory worker, a night-watchman, a housewife, an ex-policeman, a woman shop-assistant, a houseboy and primary and secondary school pupils. All were natives of the area, living in families settled for several generations, and most were recommended to me by others as being 'good' speakers of Swahili. I have also had some confirmatory information from Sh. Kassim Hafidh of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Mr. Mohammed Abdul-Aziz of University College, Dar-es-Salaam, and Miss Salma Mbaye formerly of the Institute of Swahili Research, Dar-es-Salaam. But the bulk of the material, and almost all the examples used, are abstracted from tape-recordings made in the field. Where it was thought desirable to elicit examples, for example to contrast with textual examples, these were obtained from informants, but are marked with a dagger (†). The English equivalents of the examples (and of the texts in Appendix 3) are to be read as glosses, not translations.

In general, the symbols used in the analysis are explained as they are introduced, and a full list is given in Appendix 3. The symbols for unit division are as follows:

			mark sentence boundaries;
			mark clause boundaries;
			mark group boundaries,
«	» and <	>	mark clause and group

boundaries where such units occur within discontinuous units, e.g. as it might be in English: || the wife « when she heard this » was furious || and said ....

[ ] and [ ] mark rank-shifted clause and group boundaries.

Boundaries between words are marked by spaces, and between morphemes, if necessary, by +. Since any given unit consists of one or more complete units of the rank next below, it follows that any of these boundary symbols subsumes also a boundary between units of all lower ranks i.e. wherever a sentence boundary occurs, there will also be a clause boundary, a group boundary, and so on. There is room for some argument about some word and morpheme boundaries, in fact, but not in this thesis.

My thanks are due to Professor W.H. Whiteley for much encouragement and helpful comments during the preparation and writing of this thesis; and also to Professor Malcolm Guthrie for his kind interest and advice, and for reading the text; as well as to the School of Oriental and African Studies, for affording me the opportunity for field-work without which the project would have been impossible.

## Chapter 1. Sentence structure.

The structure of the Swahili sentence with more than one clause displays two extremes: univariation and multivariation. (Univariation is the multiplicity of items which constitute different manifestations of the same element in the structure of the unit next above; multivariation is the multiplicity of items which constitute manifestations of different elements in the structure of the unit next above.) These extremes are manifested in the relationships between constituent clauses of 'linkage' and 'dependence' respectively. That they are extremes of a continuum, or possibly even points on the circumference of a circle, may be illustrated by the following examples:

1. Ningalifika mapema || ningalimwona kwanza.

'If I had arrived early I would have seen him first.'

or 'If I had seen him first I would have arrived early.'

Here there is the extreme of dependence: interdependence.

The presence of the form -ngali- in one clause requires that in the other.

2. Bingwa huyo, || ambaye alirejea Kenya jana, || hakuona wasiwasi wo wote kuhusu kushindwa kwake.

'This champion, who returned yesterday to Kenya, was not at all perturbed about his defeat.'

Here the dependent clause is 'tied' by agreement to the subject of the other clause (and would incidentally be extremely unlikely ever to occur independently).

3. Tutakapofika nyumbani, || nitakupiga kwelikweli.

'When we get home I shall give you a good hiding.'

Here the dependent clause is marked by a time/place reference as an integral part of its structure. It has no overt tie with the other clause.

4. Alikwenda dukani, || akanunua chakula, || akarudi, || akapika, || wakala || wakalala.

'She went to the shop and bought some food, came home and cooked it and they ate and then went to bed.'

Here is the borderline between dependence and linkage.

The form -ka- marks narrative linkage of the most simple kind, but in theory<sup>1</sup> at least (though by no means always in practice) it cannot initiate such a succession. In this sense it is dependent on another initial verbal form.

5. Mdudu aliyekuwa kwenye mti || na umefunga kote kote || na ameishi || na nimemwona ni mzima.

'A beetle which was in a tree, and it (tree) was closed in on all sides, and it (beetle) was alive, and I saw it was big and healthy.'

Here is an example of clauses linked by a simple linking adjunct 'na'. (It is true that there are also class

1. i.e. according to existing grammars.

subject references, but these have no effect on the independent status of 'clause', since the structure of the verb in Swahili is such that it can hardly exist in finite form without a class subject agreement marker. In this sense, therefore, verbal agreement is neutralised as a linking device.)

6. Huyu mtoto mjeuri, || huyu mjeuri sana.

'This child is a nuisance; that one is an absolute pest.'

Here is exemplified the most tenuous link of all:

juxtaposition. Nevertheless, in a deep sense the two clauses might be regarded as being interdependent, since the contextual point of the juxtaposition is to make a comparison. A certain parallelism of structure in the two clauses is also generally observable, which might also invite comparison with the position in example 1., where interdependence is signalled by a formal item.

Notwithstanding problems of assignment of particular items, however, the notion of the distinction multivariate: univariate seems a useful one, characterised in the one case by a unique relationship between items (here clauses) of distinct types (classes), with a 1:1 correspondence between type of relationship and class of clause, and with variation (extension) only in depth; and in the other case by a single relationship holding between clauses of the same class, with a potentially infinite extension of a chain type.

Interdependence is symbolised by =. In dependence the depth relationship is symbolised by  $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \dots$ , and clauses within sentences may be so labelled. In linkage the relationship is symbolised by  $\emptyset, \&$  (unlinked, linked). In practice in fact I usually do not mark unlinked clauses.

Linkage and dependence are separate systems in the sentence, but it should be noted that since linkage is a device that operates at all ranks in grammar and since the two systems are independent, it is possible for a clause to be both linked and dependent, though with the simplest form of linkage (by group such as 'na') only clauses at the same depth are involved (i.e. two clauses, for example, not an  $\alpha$  and a  $\beta$ ). This does not hold for linkage by -ka-, which is another reason for regarding clauses linked in this way as in some sense bound. (See Appendix 2 for discussion of linkage by group between all ranks.) Examples follow.

Huyu mtu labda mpumbavu  $\alpha$  || na  $\langle$  mimi  $\beta$  nikimfuata  $\rangle$   
nitakuwa mpumbavu.  $\& \alpha$

'Perhaps this man is a fool, and if I copy him I shall be a fool too.'

Here there are two  $\alpha$  clauses linked by na, with a  $\beta$  clause to the second<sup>1</sup> intervening. (Strictly speaking the first

1. In this view, the two interdependent clauses would also be at  $\alpha$  in relation to the first.

clause should perhaps not be described as at  $\alpha$  as there is no  $\beta$  clause to it; however neither is it  $\beta$ . It is at  $\alpha$  in the sense that it is linked to another clause at  $\alpha$ , and linkage generally occurs only between units at the same depth.)

Kama mna pesa nyinyi, || basi  $\langle\langle$  kama nyinyi mna pesa  $\rangle\rangle$   
 $\alpha \quad \beta$   
mkanisaidia mimi.  
 $\& \alpha$

'If you have money, well if you folk have money, then help me.'

Here a  $\beta$  clause is linked to an  $\alpha$  clause by both the item basi and by the verbal infix -ka-. (Another  $\beta$  clause is interpolated within the  $\alpha$  .)

For the sake of clarity, the examples chosen to exemplify the exponents of dependence etc. have been picked to show only one of these phenomena at a time, however.

#### Exponents of Interdependence.

a) -nge-

Ungekifuata || ungekiona.

'If you really looked for it you would find it.'

b) -ngali-

Ingalifaa || kama tungalisema hivi.

'It would have done if we had said this.'

Note that interdependence can equally be regarded as a type of coordination (i.e. clauses at the same place in

the structure of a higher unit); this is especially attractive when more than two clauses are involved. e.g. Kwa sababu, ndio, <sub>β</sub> kama asingependa, || asingekwenda <sub>=</sub> kunywa pombe, || asingepata <sub>=</sub> ajali ile.

'Well yes, because if he hadn't wanted it (death) he wouldn't have gone to drink beer, (and) he wouldn't have had that accident.'

(The speaker here uses the -nge- form where others would have used -ngali- but the grammatical point is the same.) Note also that the use of a dependent group such as kama alters the relationship of interdependence to one of dependence, as in the first clause of the previous example, or as in

Ingali<sub>α</sub>faa || kama tungali<sub>β</sub>sema hivi.

'It would have been a good thing if we had said this.'

Although normally in interdependence, either -nge- or -ngali- (or their respective negatives) occurs in both clauses, this is not necessarily so, as has sometimes been stated or implied.

† Kama si <sub>β</sub> mtu huyo || wangi<sub>α</sub>likufa kwa njaa.

'If it had not been for that man they would have starved to death'.

Nisingeishi<sub>α</sub> || kama hangali<sub>β</sub>niponya.

'I would not be alive if he had not cured me.'



Ungelikuja nikuta kuwa nimelala || hapo ningekuwa ni mrongo.  
'If you had found me asleep, then I would be a liar.'

These clauses are only functioning in an interdependent relationship; there is nothing about their structure that precludes them from functioning otherwise, and indeed clauses with -nge- frequently have a quite different function as well as meaning, as in:

Ningependa chai.

'I would like some tea.'

This clause is not interdependent.

#### Exponents of Dependence.

##### 1. Verbal form.

###### a) Non-finite (with ku-)<sup>1</sup>

Masista kuulizwa || waliambiwa bado.

'When the sisters were asked, they (the askers) were told "Not yet."'

Kukaa || ninakaa kwa mama.

'As for living, I stay with my mother.'

Hataki na yeye kwenda mjini || kununua chakula.

'She didn't want either to go to town to buy food.'

(For discussion of the structure of the first clause in this example, see the section on verbal groups.)

1. Although the examples given are not comparable in the sense that the ku- forms have similar meanings in the context, they are comparable in the sense that the ku- marks dependence.

This type of clause, like any other, can occur as a single utterance:

Bado kupiga deki.

'There's still the floor to wash.'

b) S-marked (with subject agreement) with -e.  
(Morphophonemically it can be shown that -i or -u also function as -e.)

Futeni vizui<sup>r</sup> || ubao usiwe kama umepakwa chokaa.

'Clean it properly so that the board is not sort of covered with chalk-dust.'

Mimi nampenda mume wangu || tuishi pamoja.

'As for me, I love my husband, that we should live together.'

Mfukuzeni || wala asikanyage simenti hiyo.

'Drive him away, so that he doesn't so much as set foot on the floor.'

(The dependent clause here is also linked.)

When this form occurs in independent utterances or in & clauses it has the contextual meaning of command or question.

c) with -po-.

Alipomaliza ule mti || akaona dudu kubwa sana liko ndani.

'When he had cut up all the tree he saw a monstrous insect inside.'

In form this looks like a relative (in that it contains the infix -o-), but the clause in which it occurs does not

behave like the normal relative clause in that

- i) It frequently has no antecedent (as above).
- ii) It normally precedes the  $\propto$  clause:

Basi alipoondoka yeye || akaenda zake nyumbani mpaka chini  
kwa mamake.

'So when she left, she went off home to her mother's.'

Akateremka || hata alipofika wa pili tena, || ah, akaangaliwa.

'He went downstairs until when he got to the second one  
again, oh, he was scrutinized.'

- iii) Even when there is an antecedent, the clause  
generally has a separate tone-group;

Haya, kaa hapa || nnapokaa mimi, basi. (Antecedent hapa.)

'Oh well, sit here in my place, then.'

(Tonics on hapa and mimi)

This could be treated as a straight relative, although  
in view of the separate tone-groups (see <sup>page</sup> section 105) I  
would be unwilling to analyse the clause as rank-shifted.  
(See ~~section~~ p. 26 on amba- vs relative.)

This form tends also to occur in copular clauses,  
with repetition in the complement:

Hapa ndipo alipokaa.

'This is where he lived.'

- d) with -vyo-.

Tulivyomwamini Mungu || tumekuwa namna gani sasa?

'For the way we trusted in God, how has our position  
become now?'

Kila itakavyokuwa || usimpe siri yako kabisa mfalme.

'Whatever happens, don't give away all your secret to the king.'

Kwa jinsi unavyotumikika || zinakuwa na tofauti.

'The way one can use it makes a difference.'

Yule mtoto wake maskini || kwa vile alivyo maskini || akasema ..

'The son of the poor man, because of his poverty, said ..'

As with -po-, this form may be relative. Also it tends to occur in copular clauses, with repetition in the complement:

Nafikiri dunia: Mungu alivyokuweka ndivyo alivyokaa.

'I am thinking that how God places one in the world, that's how one remains.'

(There is a shift from 2nd to 3rd person singular - 'you', 'one' - in this sentence, but I think the gloss is justified.)

Here there is also repetition in the Subject.

The form tends also to occur with groups such as (kwa) jinsi, (kwa) vile, kila.

e) with -ki-.

Ukiweka namna hii || hakuingii kitu cho chote.

'If you put it together like this, nothing whatever could get in.'

Na mume wangu << akiwa na wasiwasi >> aliwapigia ndugu zangu wote simu.

'And my husband, being anxious, phoned up all my relatives.'

Yaani wakienda || wasiangalie nyuma.

'That is, as they were on their way, they must not look back.'

Mpaka sasa sijamwona mumeo || akienda kwenye kuni.

'Up to now I haven't seen your husband going for firewood.'

(This last example is something like examples where -ki- is used as the second verb of a compound group and illustrates the fact that there are *clines* in grammar, one of which runs from compound sentence to (compound) verbal group.

(See section on Verbal groups.)

Wakiangalia nyuma || watakufa wote.

'If they looked back they would all die.'

(A contextual gloss: in isolation the gloss would be

'If they look back they will all die.')

This last is an example of the use of -ki- traditionally quoted in grammars, i.e. followed by -ta- in the  $\times$  clause.

I don't think this use is as common as the text books suggest. Even when the meaning approximates to 'if', the  $\times$  clause need not have -ta-, as the following examples show:

Wakichezacheza nje || ni kidogo wanasema Kiswahili.

'If they are playing about outside, they don't speak Swahili much.'

Nikiondoka mimi || sirudi.

'If I go, I'm not coming back.'

f) with -sipo-.

Usipofanya kazi || hutakuwa na pesa.

'If you don't do any work you won't have any money.'

There may be some restrictions here on the tense of the verb in the  $\propto$  clause, as in the last section, but they are not rigid.

g) relative verbal form.

Basi wakatumia zile pesa za kuni || wakizokuwa wameweka ||  
wakatumia || wakatumia || mpaka zikamalizika.

'So they spent the firewood money which they had put aside, they spent and spent until it was used up.'

This form often occurs at  $\alpha$  (qualifier) in a Nominal group (see Chapter 3 on Nominal groups), e.g.

Nataka yule wako unayempanda.

'I want that one (horse) of yours which you ride.'

It is also frequently rank-shifted; as with amba- the distinction is shown by intonation. (See section p<sup>26</sup> on amba- vs relative.)

2. amba-.

Kitabu hicho || ambacho amesimama karibu || ndicho atakachokisoma.

'The book which he sat down by is the one he's going to read.'

The form need not be in relative relationship to a nominal group, but may also be of the -po type (c.f. c) above), in a clause of the 'adverbial' type, e.g.

Kwa nini mnampakiza || ambapo mimi sijapigiwa simu?

'Why are you loading her in when (since) I haven't yet had a 'phone call?'

At times the force of this usage is very much reduced, perhaps to a linker:

Ambapo penye ukweli utalia ukweli || na penye urongo utalia urongo.

'For where there is truth one should proclaim it, and where there is falsehood one should cry "lies".'

A clause containing this form may be rank-shifted:  
Ni wale || ambao hawakunywa sana || waliolewa upesi.

'It was those who didn't drink much who soon got drunk.'  
The distinction is shown by intonation. (See following section.)

Note. amba- cf. relative.

On the whole the amba- form seems to appear more in written than in spoken Swahili. On my tapes it is rare, except for one speaker who contrariwise used no relatives other than -po-. But in newspapers it occurs frequently, and I do not think that this has any connection with the relative lengths of sentences, as has sometimes been suggested. (See article by L. Harries, 'Some grammatical features of recent Swahili prose', ALS II, 1961.)

It seems that amba- forms are less often rank-shifted than relative forms, and it may be that the times when

they are rank-shifted are when, as in the last example in the previous section, the use of this form allows for a tense distinction in the negative which cannot be shown in the relative form anyway.

When dealing with spoken Swahili I consider that forms which occur within one tone group (whether relative or amba-) are rank-shifted; those which have their own separate tone group are  $\beta$  clauses. In written Swahili obviously this distinction cannot hold. One could, however, consider the use of commas as marking off dependent clauses, and describe as rank-shifted those cases where no commas are used.

3. Fossilised verbal forms (treated as groups). For some speakers these forms may still be productive: this does not change the status of the clause in which they appear, however.

a) isipokuwa. (See also following section.)

Sikukuona mpumbavu || isipokuwa nilipata chuki || kwa kuona shida zikatinga.

'I didn't think you were a fool, it was just that I felt bitter at being overcome by want.'

b) ijapokuwa.

Mahali hapo << ijapokuwa pana mbu >> ndipo nitakapokaa.

'Although there are mosquitos here, this is where I shall stay.'



#### 4. Groups.

It is not possible to give a finite list of such groups because a) they are continually being added to (e.g. *eti* and *hali* seem widespread additions to the number of items which function as markers of dependence, and are not noted in previous grammars) and b) items may function in different ways, e.g. *hata* may be an exponent of either dependence or linkage, or function as an 'adverb', e.g.:

*Alilewa brandi || hata ikamtupa.*

'He got drunk on brandy until it felled him.'

(The  $\beta$  clause is also linked by *-ka-*.)

*Kwa nini mume wangu? - || hata huwezi kuniambia neno kama hilo.*

'Why, husband? and you can't say things like that to me.'

*Hataki hata kuteremka.*

'He won't even get out.'

Another example of a group which generally functions as an exponent of dependence functioning as an exponent of linkage is:

*Mtoto huyu mzuri || isipokuwa yule mbaya.*

'This child is fine but that one is naughty.'

This use of *isipokuwa* perhaps reinforces the suggestion that sentences of a comparison type have a relationship which is rather like that of dependence anyway (see example 6 at the beginning of this chapter).

Some examples of dependent clauses introduced by groups (some of which consist of a single word) follow. (See ~~section 9~~ <sup>144</sup> on groups at A for further examples.)

a) hata mwisho

Akachanja kuni || hata mwisho aliona sehemu ... ilikula mdudu.

'He went on chopping firewood until finally he saw a section eaten by an insect.'

b) kwa vile

Akafunga mzigo || kwa vile saa zake zimefika.

'So he packed up his bundle, since his time was up.'

c) mpaka

Akauza kuni zile || mpaka zikamalizika zote.

'He went on selling the firewood until it was all gone.'

d) kama

Lakini ni kawaida ya watu tu mara || kama mtu ana shida || kama anakufa pale pale kwake nyumbani || ataonekana ni mtajiri || kumbe hali yake ni maskini.

'But that's how people are, if a man is in want, and if he dies in his own home, straight away they will think that he is rich, and yet really he is poverty-stricken.'

e) kwa sababu

Ni lazima uwasikilize hao || kwa sababu hao ndio wanaokuweka hapa.

'You must take notice of them because it is they who have given you this job.'

f) kwa kuwa

Tulipata huzuni sana || kwa kuwa alikuwa mtu mzuri sana.

'We were very sad because he had been a very fine man.'

g) iwapo (could also be regarded as a fossilised verbal form)

h) hali

Iwapo mfanya kazi anapokea shilingi mia hamsini kwa mwezi ||  
hali ana mke na watoto || na wote wanataka mavazi || tena  
wale washibe, || je, viongozi wa Nuta mnadhani || shilingi  
mia hamsini zinaweza kutosha?

'If a worker gets 150 shillings a month, supposing he has a wife and children, and they all want clothing and feeding, do the leaders of Nuta think that 150 shillings is enough?'

5. Groups introducing 'reported' speech. (kuwa, kwamba, ya kuwa, kana, kana/kama kwamba, eti, kuona and possibly others.)

An area of special difficulty of analysis is that of reported speech. It is difficult because there is no constant relationship between grammatical form and contextual meaning. For example: although there are a number of items which may or may not be used to introduce speech, and although the speech may be a direct quote of the words used or an indirect reference (using for example 3rd person singular where the original used 1st<sup>1</sup>), there

is no constant relationship between the use of any or none of the introductory items and the choice of direct or indirect quote. The most simple form is unlinked:

Aambia || mimi nimekuja hapa.

'She says, "Here I am."'

Aambiwa || tuna pesa tuzipate wapi ndugu zetu?

'She is told, "Us, have money, where could we get it from, sister?"'

Where there is no linking of subordination group the two clauses are clearly unlinked. However the 'speech' need not contextually be direct.

Akaja huyu mtoto || amwambia || basi bwana nimekuletea  
nguo || zimepewa na baba || na amekuambia || basi usiende  
leo lakini uende kesho jioni.

'The child arrives and says to him, "Well, sir, I have brought you some clothes given by my father and he said to you, 'All right don't come today but come tomorrow evening.'"'

It seems that the unlinked relationship generally signals a grammatically direct form, even to the extent of overruling what would normally be a grammatical link, e.g.

1. (from previous page.) It should also be noted that no other changes than that of person (and occasionally tense) take place in the reported clause. Declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses retain their original form and word order. One example of an interrogative follows (examples of declarative and imperative clauses are included in the text):

Hawakukuambia || ile operesheni ilichukua muda gani?  
'Didn't they tell you how long the operation took?'

Wakaenda kwa mama || wasema || mimi namtaka Kibwana Maskini.

'So they go to their mother and say, "I want Kibwana Maskini."'

(The speakers are plural but the speech is singular.)

The sequence of clauses may be reversed, e.g.:

Wataka riziki gani tena? || aulizwa na mkewe.

'"What more do you want to live on?" he is asked by his wife.'

In this case the second clause has low level intonation, suggesting parenthesis.

More difficult are utterances where the 'speech' is preceded by groups such as those listed above, since they may introduce either direct or indirect speech. It seems, in fact, that the distinction between direct and indirect speech, as traditionally understood for English, is not an easy one to make in Swahili.

Sasa bibi yake anamwambia kuwa bwana mbona huendi kwenye kuni?

'Then his wife says to him (that) "Sir, why don't you go for firewood?"'

Nenda kwambie sultani kuwa Maskini anaona huzuni sana kufika kwake kwa sababu hana ngua kuweza kutokeza.

'To and tell the sultan that the poor man (i.e. the speaker himself) would feel very uncomfortable going to see him because he has no clothes fit to go out in.'

They may also introduce direct quotation, e.g.:

Ilipokuwa siku za nyuma nikikuambia kuwa riziki aliopata dudu na mimi itanipata palepale uliniona mpumbavu sana mimi.

'When formerly I used to say to you (that) "The sustenance the beetle got will come to me here and now" you thought I was a great fool.'

There are two related problems here. The first is, to which clause should the group (kuwa etc.) be assigned? On phonetic grounds it seems to hover between the two. If there are two tone groups it seems like a parenthetical extension of the first, or it could be considered as an unstressed prelude to the second. It is difficult to assign it definitely to the first, since it never seems to take the tonic, and in Swahili the neutral situation is that the last item in a tone group has the tonic. If we look at linked and dependent clauses, the linking or dependent groups are regarded as belonging to the following clause, on the syntactic grounds that if the sequence of clauses is reversed, the group remains in the same relative position to the clause:

†Wazee wake wanampenda || ingawa yeye mjeuri.

†Ingawa yeye mjeuri || wazee wake wanampenda.

'Although he is a nuisance, his parents are fond of him.'

Nalisikia waya || nikatazama || kumbe ni nyoka.

'I heard a rustle so I watched and goodness, a snake!'

†Nalisikia waya || kumbe ni nyoka || nikatazama.

'I heard a rustle, and goodness, a snake, so I watched.'

Forms with kwamba, kuona, kuwa, look as if they might be related to the dependence forms already discussed expounded by non-finite verbal forms (Exponents of Dependence 1.a)). e.g.

Bibi yake akakasirika sana kuona huyu mtu namaa gani?  
'His wife got very angry thinking "What sort of man is this?"'

Compare this example with:

Nikapata chuki || kwa kuona shida zikatinga.

'And I got angry at seeing want oppressing us.'

(kuona and kwa kuona are, I think, interchangeable in these examples.) The sequence of clauses could be reversed in every case, but where 'speech' is involved, the groups kwamba, kuwa, etc., do not appear at all if the 'speech' clause comes first, e.g.

Aulizwa na mkewe kuwa wataka riziki gani tena?

Wataka riziki gani tena? aulizwa na mkewe.

'"Well what sustenance do you want then?" he is asked by his wife.'

Since the group is not present in this case, the reversibility criterion cannot be used for these examples.

As the groups must be regarded as belonging to one clause or the other, analogy with other forms of dependence and with linkage suggests a more consistent analysis if the groups are regarded as belonging to the

'speech' clause. The objection is that when two tone groups are used, the group does not clearly belong to either, but seems to form a sort of hiatus between the two. Since this is not clear evidence either way, it is ignored for this purpose of grammatical analysis.

The second problem is that a formal distinction between those sentences with a depending group (kuwa etc.) and those without tends to reflect a distinction between indirect and direct speech, but there is by no means a one to one relationship.<sup>1</sup> So we get:

Basi akamwambia || kwa nini bwana huendi kwenye kuni?

'So he said to him, "Sir, why don't you go for firewood?"'

Amwambia || basi hiki ndicho kitu.

'He says to her, "Well that's what it's about."'

But in the same text:

Sasa bibi yake anamwambia || kuwa Bwana mbona huendi kwenye kuni?

'Then his wife says to him (that) "Sir, why don't you go for firewood?"'

Where speech is reported it is often turned into a direct form as in a previous example:

Baba...amekuambia || basi usiende leo || lakini uende kesho jioni.

'Father...has said to you "All right, don't go today, but you should go tomorrow evening."'

1. Such a relationship is, however, being encouraged in the schools, under the influence of English.



Baba akuuliza || mbona hukuenda.

'Father asks you "Why didn't you go?"'

That is, the speech is direct from the point of view of the person doing the reporting; it is not a direct quotation of the original. And even in this case a depending group may be used, e.g.

Nenda kwambie sultani kuwa maskini anaona huzuni sana....

'Go and tell the sultan that the poor man feels very sorry....'

In this case the speaker is himself the poor man, and is giving the messenger the actual words he is to say.

More research needs doing here; one thing is clear, however, that a more indirect form can be used:

Basi akanwambia || vyema baba, utakwenda kumweleza babako ||  
uje || tukuoze.

'So he said to him, "Very well sir, you shall go and tell your father you should come that we may have you married."'

It seems to me that the use of the -e forms here clearly shows dependence, but that forms with kuwa etc., while they could formally be described as dependent, are in many cases free variants of unlinked forms, though the language may be tending to use them solely as depending groups.

A final complication with this type of clause relation is one of contextual reference.

A sentence such as:

†Alisema (kuwa) atafika kesho.

may be glossed as: 'He said that he (himself) would arrive the next day/will arrive tomorrow.' or 'He said that he (someone else) would arrive the next day/will arrive tomorrow.'

Also, †Alisema (kuwa) nitafika kesho.

could be glossed as: 'He said that he (himself) would arrive the next day/will arrive tomorrow.' or 'He said that I would arrive the next day/will arrive tomorrow.'

This last case might be distinguished by intonation, but (leaving aside the temporal ambiguity) where it is clear from context or from situation which of the two is meant, should the grammatical analysis show it? It could be done, for example, by rank-shifting the spoken words when the subject is identical with the speaker, but this would not help in cases where the subject was 'you':

†Alisema (kuwa) utakwenda sokoni.

'He said you will/would go to the market.'

(To a third person, or else addressing a second now, in which case the original words would have been "He will go to the market.")

We could rank-shift all direct words spoken, regardless of the presence or absence of kuwa etc. But this would leave us with a lot of unsolved cases, as well as possibly

going against the trend of the language. For the time being I propose to treat all clauses introduced by such groups as dependent, while recognising that this is not always satisfactory.

Exponents of Linkage.

1. Verbal form -ka-.

This form realises linkage with the contextual meaning of time-sequence. It operates over very large stretches of language - whole stories, for example. The link is in a sense always to a previous item at P, and the time it refers to is always subsequent to that in the preceding clause. It is not usually the form of the first item at P in a discourse, although the first item may be merely formulaic, e.g.:

Hapo zamani paliondokea mtu, || akajenga nyumba || akakaa.  
'Once there lived a man and he built a house and then relaxed.'

Linked clauses of this type may of course be simultaneously  
α e.g.:

Walipofika nyumbani || wakakaa.  
β & α

'When they got home they rested.'

or β of the type with group exponence:

Basi akaenda nyumbani || akauza kuni || akauza kuni zile ||  
mpaka zikamalizika zote.  
& β

'So he went home and sold the firewood and sold the firewood until it was all finished.'

## 2. Groups.

As with dependent groups, it is not possible to give a finite list, but some examples follow, a number of which have not previously been considered in grammars.

### a) na

Sasa vyakula vimetuishia humo nyumbani || na sisi hatuna mtu ya kuntuma kwenda huko mjini.

'Now the food in the house is finished up and we haven't anyone to send to town.'

However, if the subject of the two clauses is the same, the verb in the second clause is usually in the ku- form.

Wakanilaza || na kuzungumza kama kawaida.

'They laid me down and chatted normally.'

It is the presence of the na which distinguished the second clause from a dependent one. The meaning of the choice of this form as opposed to the -ka- tense seems to be that where -ka- is used the actions are felt to have some connection closer than that of mere sequence, whereas when na + ku- is used the actions are felt to be distinct and unconnected.

### b) sasa

Akafikiri kutwa nzima || sasa hawezi yeye hushindwa na njaa.

'She thought all day long; however she could not let herself starve.'

c) tena

Wanasikia fujo || tena wamewasikia watu wamewafuata.

'They hear a din, and moreover they heard people following them.'

d) lakini

Akalala || lakini halali usingizi kwa kufikiri.

'She lies down but she can't sleep for thinking.'

e) hata

Kwa nini mume wangu? - || hata huwezi kuniambia neno kama hilo.

'What are you getting at, husband? - indeed you can't accuse me of things like that.'

f) wala

Hataki jambo lo lote || wala kwenye kuni siku hizi haendi.

'He's not interested in anything at all, and as for going for firewood these days, he just doesn't.'

g) hebu

Mimi ni mtu mchafu namna hii || hebu nitazama wewe ndugu yangu.

'I am such a scruffy fellow, well look for yourself, sister.'

h) kumbe

Nalifikiri hakuna krimu || kumbe ipo.

'I thought there was no cream but surprise surprise, there is.'

Examples of typical unlinked clauses.

Dunia ni ngurudumu || inazunguka.

'The world is a wheel: it revolves.

(This form is often used for gnomic utterances.)

Akaona || huyu mtu mjanja.

'And he thought: this man is a scoundrel.'

Nyumba yake nzuri || yangu imezidi.

'His house is fine: mine is better.'

(Comparisons are often unlinked.)

Arrangement of clauses in Dependence.

There are three possibilities:

1.  $\alpha$  precedes  $\beta$  ( $\gamma \delta \dots$ ).

Akaondoka pale, yule binti mfalme || kwa sababu wanataka  
 $\alpha$   $\beta$   
kula.

'She left the place, <sup>e</sup>then king's daughter, because they  
were going to eat.'

2.  $\beta$  ( $\gamma \delta \dots$ ) precedes  $\alpha$ .

Basi alipomwona || alimpenda sana.  
 $\beta$   $\alpha$

'So when she saw him she liked him very much.'

Kwa vile yule mtoto wa mfalme || tena ndiye mdogo || lazima  
 $\beta$   $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\alpha$   
apendwe sana na babake.

'Since she was the king's daughter and moreover the  
youngest, of course she was very much loved by her father.'

Mkulima akipanda mwembe <sub>$\beta$</sub>  barazani pake || ili apate <sub>$\gamma$</sub>  embe  
za kula na kivuli cha kuchezea watoto wake katika siku  
za mbele || mkulima yule hategemei <sub>$\gamma$</sub>  kupata embe wala  
kivuli katika mwaka wa kwanza.

'If a farmer plants a mango-tree in front of his house  
in order to get mangoes to eat and shade for his  
children to play in for the future, that farmer does not  
reckon on getting mangoes nor shade in the first year.'

(Speech by President Nyerere.)

3.  $\alpha$  enclosing  $\beta$  .

Mume wangu <sub>$\gamma$</sub>  << nikiwambia <sub>$\beta$</sub>  mambo hayo ya dawa >> atanipiga <sub>$\alpha$</sub> .

'My husband, if I talk to him about this potion, will  
beat me.'

An alternative analysis here would be to regard mume  
wangu as a front-shifted complement in the  $\beta$  clause<sub>s</sub>,  
but then it would still be simultaneously a subject in  
the  $\alpha$  clause; and this would have the effect of binding  
the  $\gamma$  clause, giving a new type of interdependence,  
which seems an unnecessary complication. It seems  
preferable to regard mume wangu as belonging to the  $\alpha$   
clause.

When there is more than one  $\alpha$  clause in a sentence,  
there might on the face of it seem some confusion as to  
the assignment of any  $\beta$  clauses. In practice, however,  
the problem is solved by intonation.

Basi mwambieni baba yenu  $\parallel$  akikubali  $\parallel$  ndio mtamaliza  
 $\searrow$   $\beta \rightarrow$   $\searrow$   
 mashauri haya.

'So go and tell your father: if he agrees, you can settle your affairs.'

Here the  $\beta$  clause 'belongs' to the following  $\searrow$ , and it has a non-final intonation pattern (a fall high to mid). Both the  $\searrow$  clauses have final type patterns (falls to low). This may be contrasted with:

Tutaonana  $\parallel$  Mungu akipenda.  
 $\searrow$   $\beta$

'We shall meet again if God wills.'

Here the  $\beta$  clause belongs to a preceding  $\searrow$ . Both clauses have final type intonations. A good deal more work is needed on intonation, however.

Systems so far discussed as operating at sentence level are:

1. Linkage. The terms in this system are: linked (symbolised &); unlinked (symbolised  $\emptyset$ ).
2. Dependence. The terms in this system are: inter-dependent (symbolised =); dependent (symbolised  $\beta, \gamma, \dots$ ); independent (symbolised  $\searrow$ ).

There is also a third system, Marking. Terms: marked (symbolised \*); neutral (symbolised 0). This system is discussed below.

These three systems are independent, and clause relationships can be described fully by a combination



of the systems, i.e. each clause may be either linked or unlinked to another; and either interdependent with, independent of or dependent on another; and either marked or unmarked with relation to another. There are restrictions, however, and therefore it is clearer to show their operations separately. Linkage and dependence have already been described and their exponents listed. The following examples show these two systems operating simultaneously:

Siku nyingine natoka na mtoto wangu || nkachuma mboga hapo  
 $\emptyset \times$   $\times \times$   
 nje || tukaje || tukalalie hivyo hivyo.  
 $\times \beta$   $\times \gamma$

'Other days I go out with my child and pick greenstuff outside so that we can come in to eat at night somehow.'

Kama analeta mambo yake ya kupuuzipuuzi || nitamfungia  
 $\emptyset \beta$   $\emptyset \times$   
 mbali.

'If he is playing his silly tricks I shall find him out.'

Ungalifika || usingenikuta.  
 $\emptyset =$   $\emptyset =$

'If you had arrived you would not find me in.'

Tena ungefanya bidii || ungefaulu.  
 $\times =$   $\emptyset =$

'Moreover if you worked hard you would succeed.'

It does not seem possible to have the second clause in the Interdependence relationship linked. This would suggest that such sentences could be regarded as a whole, but the fact that both clauses can have the full range of

possibilities for affirmative clauses would make analysis needlessly complicated if such a view were adopted.

### Marking.

Marking is a system which operates at all ranks except perhaps that of morpheme. At sentence, clause and group rank it is shown by sequence as well as by intonation. Intonation is not dealt with in this thesis; but clearly there is an interplay between intonation and sequence. At sentence rank, only those sentences whose clauses are in dependence relation can show marking, and not all these, since there are restrictions on particular types of clause (see below). Sentences to which this system applies may thus be either neutral<sup>or marked</sup>. It seems probable that one of the constituent clauses is being marked when the sequence is not neutral, but at this stage it is not always possible to say definitely which. All that can be attempted at present is to say what the possibilities are and to indicate for each sentence type which form is the neutral and which the marked one. Much more investigation is needed to discover precisely what is the meaning of such marking.

### Marking and Interdependence.

Since interdependent clauses are identical in dependence exponent, marking is neutralised, and sequence shows contextual temporal precedence, if any. e.g.

Ungefanya bidii || ungefaulu.

'If you worked hard you would succeed.'

c.f. †Ungefaulu || ungefanya bidii.

Probably 'If you succeeded you would/should work hard.'

But quite possibly 'If you worked hard you would succeed.'

The difference may be shown by intonation, the first meaning having two tone groups, the first 'non-final' and the second 'final'; the second meaning having either two tone groups, both 'final' or else having only one tone group ('final').

#### Marking and Dependence.

In general it seems that the neutral sequence when only two clauses constitute the sentence, is for the dependent clause to precede the  $\propto$  if possible (except for  $\beta$  <sup>(reporting)</sup>, as has already been stated, <sup>suggested</sup> section p. 32).

Where there is a sequence of dependent clauses  $\beta, \gamma, \delta \dots$  it is still I think broadly true. Where several  $\beta, \gamma, \delta \dots$  clauses of different classes (see section on classes of clause) occur at equal depth, the sequence is made more complicated because some classes of clause are fixed in position. e.g. amba- clauses when referring to a nominal group have to follow that group. Suggested neutral and marked forms of clauses in dependence relation follow.

1. with verbal exponents.

a) with ku-.

The position with ku- is complicated.

i. Where it occurs in the special formula-type sentence, with the same lexical verb in both clauses, the ku- form clause must come first. e.g.

Kufa || wanakufa kwa njaa.

'As for dying, they are dying of hunger.'

ii. Where the ku- clause has an adverb-like function its neutral position is post  $\surd$  . e.g.

Alikuwa anawasaidia || kwa kuchukua kuni.  
 $\surd$   $\beta$

'He used to help them by carrying firewood.'

A reversal of the sequence would produce something rather like i., suggesting strong emphasis on the action of carrying firewood, but also perhaps an element of generalisation:

Kwa kuchukua kuni || alikuwa anawasaidia.

'As for carrying firewood, he used to help them.'

iii. In instructions, the ku- clause expressing something like 'aim' generally precedes the  $\surd$  clause, but I think this is probably basically a marked form, since with other such clauses, not in instructions, the ku- clause neutrally follows the  $\surd$  . e.g.

Kufika stesheni || unafuata njia hii.  
 $\beta$   $\surd$

'To get to the station you take this road.'

But: Alikwenda sokoni || kununua chakula.

'She went to the market to buy food.'

iv. Where the ku- clause expresses a completed (or hypothetically completed) action, it precedes the  $\propto$ , perhaps invariably. e.g.

Mtoto mchanga kuzaliwa || akipewa kitu cha kunyonya || ||  
anatulia.

'As soon as a baby is born, if it is given something to suck, it is quiet.'

b) with S-marked -e forms.

Clauses of this class are an exception in that they seem invariably to follow the  $\mathcal{L}$  clause. e.g.

Tuna pesa || tuzipate wapi, ndugu zetu?

'Us have money - where could we get it from sister?'

Nyanyuka || uziangalie.

'Move over to look at it (money).'

c) with -po-.

Neutral: Alipofika mjini || alinunua baisikeli.

'When he got to town he bought a bicycle.'

Marked: <sup>†</sup> Alinunua baisikeli || alipofika mjini.

Informants differed as to the meaning of the marked form, one suggesting that it meant he went to town on purpose, another that he often went and bought bicycles every time! Both seem to suggest that the  $\beta$  clause is being marked.

d) with -vyo-

Neutral: † Kwa jinsi ninavyokupenda || nitakusaidia.

'For the sake of my love for you I will help you.'

Marked: Nitakusaidia || kwa jinsi ninavyokupenda.

e) with -ki-.

Neutral: Ukiingia katika chumba cha Bi. Maw || utakuwa  
 $\beta$   $\alpha$   
huna adabu.

'If you go into Miss Maw's room it will not be polite of you.'

Marked: Utakuwa huna adabu || ukiingia katika chumba  
cha Bi. Maw.'  $\alpha$   $\beta$

f) with -sipo-.

Neutral: Usipofanya hivi || utakuwa huna akili.

'If you don't do this you will be stupid.'

Marked: Utakuwa huna akili || usipofanya hivi.

g) relative verbal form.

2.    amb a-.

Clauses of these two classes follow the group to which they refer.

### 3. Fossilised verbal forms, and

#### 4. Groups.

It would be a good thing to plot the possibilities of all the dependent groups and fossilised verbal forms individually.

Clearly the neutral sequence is often  $\beta \propto$  but not always. e.g.

Neutral: Baada ya kupata ugonjwa huu || alinyoka mikono  
na miguu.

'After this illness his arms and legs were paralysed.'

Marked: Alinyoka mikono na miguu || baada ya kupata  
 $\alpha$   $\beta$   
 ugonjwa huu.

Neutral: Kiasi cha kumeza ile dawa || alianza kutapa roho.  
 $\beta$   $\alpha$

'As he gulped down the concoction he began to feel terrible.'

Marked: Alianza kutapa roho || kiasi cha kumeza ile dawa.  
 $\alpha$   $\beta$

Neutral: Moza alirambaza tu rangi ya mdomo || ili mama  
 $\alpha$   $\beta$   
 asipate kujua || kuwa katia rangi.

'Moza put only a trace of lipstick on so that her mother  
 $\gamma$   
 would not know that she was wearing any.'

This sequence could not be changed, the  $\beta$  clause because  
 of the -e form; the  $\gamma$  clause because of the group  
 kuwa (c.f. its use introducing 'speech'.)

Another form of marking is that of enclosure,  
 where the  $\alpha$  clause encloses the  $\beta$ . e.g.

Basi hao «alipoonekana yule mtoto wa mfalme» «ilivyo  
 $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\beta$   
 kawaida» lazima wamnyenyekee.  
 $\alpha$

'So they, when the king's daughter appeared, according  
 to custom, they had to be polite to her.'

Here in fact there are two  $\beta$  clauses within the  $\alpha$ . A  
 still more complicated example is:

Zamani ilikuwa || mumeo «mpaka aende kwenye kuni || akija  
 $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\gamma$   
 huko. || ndio akiuza kuni» anapata hela || anakwenda  
 $\gamma$   $\alpha$   
 nunua unga.

'Formerly it was the case that your husband, unless he went for firewood and came back, only if he sold the firewood, would get cash and go and buy flour.'

I would tentatively suggest that the  $\wedge$  clause, or at least that portion of it that appears first, is being marked.

A more unexpected example of enclosure, where it might be considered that a rank-shifted clause is being split, is:

$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Sisi} \end{array} \right] \text{vyakula vyetu } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{tunavyokula hapa} \end{array} \right] \text{ni vya}$   
kishenzishenzi na visivyofaa.

'The food we eat here is just rubbish and won't do at all.'

An alternative analysis would be to regard sisi as at R in clause structure. (See ~~section 66~~ <sup>66f</sup> on R in clause structure.) Personally I would prefer the latter solution as avoiding this splitting.

### Marking and Linkage.

Marking and Linkage the position is clear. The link always functions retrospectively, i.e. any linked clause is linked to a preceding one, even if this means to one in a preceding sentence. If nothing precedes (suppose the clause to be the opening one in a conversation for example), then the linked clause is merely linked in its own structure, but under no circumstances can a clause be linked to a following clause. This is in



the nature of linkage, and is one of the features which distinguish it from dependence.

Number of clauses and distribution of classes of clause in sentences.

Dependence.

There can be more than one  $\alpha$  clause. e.g.

Nimemwona jana || leo sijamwona.  
 $\alpha$   $\alpha$

'I saw him yesterday; I haven't seen him today yet.'

The  $\alpha$  clauses need not be of the same class. (see p 56)

There can be more than one  $\beta$  clause in relation to a single  $\alpha$ . In this case the  $\beta$  clauses are usually of different classes. e.g.

Basi huyu mumeo akija || mwambie kesho || kuwa Enda  
 $\beta \times$   $\alpha$   $\beta''$   
kwenye kuni.

'So when that husband of yours comes in, say to him tomorrow, "Get out after firewood".'

(See section on classes of clause for meaning of diacritics to  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , etc.)

It may be, however, that they are of the same class, e.g.

Walipompakia || walipomaliza || walipokuwa wanakuja || wale  
 $\beta \times$   $\beta \times$   $\beta \times$   $\alpha$   
wenyewe waliankia kule.

'When they loaded up (the donkey), when they finished, when they were going along, the owners woke up back there.'

When  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , relationships extend in depth, the clauses are usually of different classes, but not necessarily.

The following example shows both possibilities, with the clauses at  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  being of the class marked  $\times$ , and the clause at  $\gamma$  being of the class ". If the relative clause had not been rank-shifted, that would have been a clause at  $\epsilon$  of yet a third class.

Akamwambia sasa || je mke wangu || ilipokuwa siku za nyuma ||  
 $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha?$   $\beta \times$   
 nikikuambia || kuwa riziki || aliopata dudu || na mimi  
 $\gamma \times$   $\gamma$   
 itanipata pale pale >> uliniona mpumbavu sana mimi.  
 $\alpha?$

'So then he said to her, "Well, wife, when in former days I would say to you that what the beetle got to live on would come to me here and now, you thought I was a perfect idiot, didn't you?"'

### Linkage.

There can be any number of linked clauses, and they may be linked to clauses at any depth. It is usual for the linkage to be between clauses at the same depth, e.g.

Nitang'oa || kama nitasema jambo hili kwa babako || sababu  
 $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\gamma$   
 ni mfalme || na mimi ni mtoto wa maskini.  
 $\alpha \gamma$

'I shall hang if I say this to your father because he is a king and I am the son of a poor man.'

It is possible, however, for the linkage to be between clauses at different depths, although in the following example the link is to the previous clause whereas the  $\beta$  is to the following  $\alpha$ .

Mimi namfuata Kibwana tu || basi hata kama analala kwenye  
jiwe || na mimi nitalala kwenye jiwe.

'I only want to be near Kibwana, so even if he sleeps  
on a rock I also will sleep on a rock.'

There must be an upper limit on the number of clauses  
in sentences but this is difficult to substantiate. It  
may in any case lie outside the range of linguistics.  
Much more research would have to be done. All this  
study seeks to show is possible arrangements of clauses.

A minor form of cohesion which can operate between  
clauses, whether in dependence or linkage relation is  
that of agreement between a nominal group in one clause  
and a verbal group in another. This could pose problems  
about the status of the nominal group, but it need not  
since clauses can perfectly well be independent without  
having anything at S (subject) - or indeed at any other  
place in structure. And although agreement may manifest  
relationship, it does not in itself set up the categories.  
Examples:

Alimwomba babake || amnunue baisikeli.

'He begged his father to buy him a bicycle.'

Akampa yule mwizi || aliyemwiba redio yake.

'So he beat the thief who had stolen his radio.'

In each case the group underlined in the first clause is  
at C, but could be regarded as at S to the second clause.

(Agreements are also underlined.) Since there is no necessity for this, and it would only complicate the clause analysis, it seems better to avoid it, merely noting the phenomenon.

The agreement can be with nominal groups at any place in the first clause, e.g. at S:

Alipoondoka yeye || akenda zake mpaka nyumbani.

'When she left she went off home.'

at A:

Nimekuletea nguo || zimepewa na baba || na amekuambia .....

'I've brought you clothes given by my father and he says ....'

Further, the agreement can also be with C (complement) marking in the second clause:

Maskini ana mtoto wake || ni mzuri sana || na nimempenda sana.

'The poor man has a son, very handsome, and I am in love with him.'

Nataka yule wako || unayempanda.

'I want your one which you ride.'

Utanioa, || nitakupa pesa mimi za kuniolea.

'You shall marry me, I myself will give you the money for my bride-price.'

The position can become quite complicated, however, e.g.

Yule babake <sub>1</sub> // kila akitazama <sub>1</sub> || akiongea kule <sub>1</sub> // akimtazama <sub>1 2</sub>  
mtoto wake <sub>2</sub> || anamwona <sub>1 2</sub> || anamwangalia sana Kibwana <sub>2 3</sub> <sub>3</sub>.

'Her father, whenever he looked, while he was talking, when he looked at his daughter, he saw she was looking hard at Kibwana.'

It is clear that this type of agreement relation operates throughout the grammatical system, between words within groups, between items in different groups, in different clauses, and in different sentences, and any larger units such as paragraphs or discourse that might be set up. It can even be regarded as operating between morphemes in a case like babake 'his father'. But since it operates throughout the language it cannot be regarded as belonging exclusively to any particular unit as a system, though it might perhaps most usefully be described as a system of the nominal group, or even operating over the combination of S+P, and P+C. Outside these structures, it provides a sort of reference-grid, more of a lexical than grammatical nature in terms of systems.

#### Classes of clause.

Clauses which enter into sentence relationships may be sub-divided into the following classes.

1. Those which normally occur at  $\surd$  in dependence:

a) Interrogative. These clauses contain a question word or morpheme, of which there is a finite number. In analysis they are distinguished where necessary by ?.

b) Imperative. In these clauses there must be a verbal item at P which is not S-marked (i.e. has no subject prefix). They are distinguished in analysis by !.

c) Declarative. There are three sub-classes here:

i. Verbal. In these clauses there is a verbal item at P which is S-marked, or which is in the hu- form.

ii. Copular. These clauses contain a copula. (See list in section on items at P, p.138 ).

iii. Zero-predicated. These clauses have no item at P, but they have at least two groups in S:C relationship.

Declarative clauses are marked where necessary in analysis by a full stop. Where the sub-classes are required to be shown, they are marked .v, .c, .z, respectively.

When more work has been done on intonation, it may be possible to isolate a further sub-class (or even class): hypothesis. Clauses of the structure of declarative clauses evoke from other speakers agreement or disagreement. That is, they function contextually as questions of a sort. The distinction is presumably made by intonation, or by some cotextual or contextual signal. I have, however, heard a native speaker misunderstand another on this point.<sup>1</sup>

1. The occasion was in a school being visited by inspectors. One teacher said to another in the staff-room, "Wameondoka" (They've left). The second responded in a surprised tone, "Wameondoka?!" (They've left?!) Then the first said, "Nauliza." (I'm asking.)

2. Those which normally occur at  $\beta, \delta$ , .... in dependence:

a) Reporting, or 'speech' clauses. These clauses are introduced by groups such as kwamba etc., and have been already discussed. Where necessary these clauses are marked " .

b) Additioning. These clauses are introduced by amba-, or they contain a relative verb. Adjectival might be another name for them, but it would perhaps induce confusion with cases where a similar clause functions, rank-shifted, as a qualifier in a nominal group. Additioning clauses are marked where necessary by + .

c) Conditioning. The 'adverbial' clauses, containing verbal forms listed earlier (a-g), or introduced by dependent groups, or occasionally amba-, as pointed out under 2. (p.25). Some of the items which can introduce conditioning clauses can also introduce reporting clauses - kama in particular freely introduces either. See section on groups at A. (p.144). Conditioning clauses are marked where necessary by x .

3. Those which normally occur at = in interdependence.

Suppositional. These clauses contain the verbal form -nge- or -ngali-. They have no dependent group. They are marked where necessary by a comma.

4. It may sometimes be necessary to recognise single clauses in isolation (e.g. occurring as answers to questions;

exclamations, and so on) which contain no P and do not have groups in S:C relationship. Also those consisting of a single group, and those consisting of more than one at a single or the same element of structure. (See further elaboration in chapter on clause structure.) Such clauses are called

Minor. Where necessary they are marked - .

Simple sentences (containing only one clause).

All the above classes of clause may occur, but Reporting, Conditioning, Additioning, Suppositional and Minor clauses only occur under special circumstances, such as responses or exclamations. Under such circumstances they may also be the first clause in a sentence containing more than one - subject also to further qualifications as below.

Multi-clause sentences.

1. Relationship linkage.

At & all classes of clause may occur except a second suppositional.

At Ø all classes of clause may occur.

2. Relationship dependence.

At & all classes of clause may occur, but Reporting, Additioning, Conditioning and Suppositional clauses would only do so as the first clause in a sentence uttered under the conditions as for simple sentences, and a few



other special ones.<sup>1</sup>

At  $\beta, \gamma, \delta, \dots$  all classes of clause may occur except Interrogative, Imperative, Declarative and Suppositional.

3. Relationship interdependence.

At = only Suppositional clauses may occur.

4. Relationship marking.

At *	}	Any clause except Suppositional may be marked
At 0		
	}	or unmarked.

1. e.g. If certain items such as lazima occur, any verb would be in the -e form; nevertheless the clause might well be at  $\alpha$ . All such ones could easily be specified in a grammar. (And are, in fact, in existing ones.)

## Chapter 2. Clause structure.

It is not necessary to describe separately the structure of the different classes of clause as set out in the previous chapter. Those classes are set up on the basis primarily of their possibilities of occurrence at different places in the structure of the sentence, notwithstanding the fact that some classes may occur at more than one place in structure. They were not set up primarily on the basis of their own structure, although it sometimes happens that internal structure and possibility of occurrence at a particular place in the structure of the sentence coincide, though rarely in a 1:1 proportion. If it is realised a) that a clause which is linked or dependent, with the exponents of linkage or dependence being groups, must ipso facto have A (adjunct) as one of its elements of structure; b) that a clause of the class Imperative cannot have the element of structure S (subject); c) that a clause of the sub-class Zero-predicator cannot have the element P (predicator); d) that a Minor clause cannot have the element P nor the elements S and C; then the structure of the clause can be described without reference to particular classes. The structure of the clause is essentially the relationships that hold between the different elements. These relationships remain

constant, regardless of whether a particular element is present, must be present, is absent, must be absent, or not.

We may postulate in clause structure a set of relationships symbolised by the letters S (subject), P (predicator), C (complement), A (adjunct). A simple example of a clause showing these relationships would be:

†Mama alinunua samaki jana  
       S       P       C       A  
 'Mother bought fish yesterday!'

It may also be desirable to recognise a fifth element, R (referent). This possibility will be discussed later.

The relationship between S and P is usually made manifest by the grammatical device of agreement. A given prefix in an item at S regularly corresponds with a prefix in an item at P,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

†mtu amefika                   'the man has arrived'  
       S       P  
 †watu wamefika               'the people have arrived'  
       S       P  
 †kisu kimepotea               'the knife is lost'  
       S       P

1. This is traditionally regarded as govern<sup>2</sup>ment by the item at S, since in general, items at S can take a smaller number of prefixes than items at P. But this view leads to some anomalies, since the class of the item at S is traditionally regarded as dependent on its morphology, so that e.g. kipofu is traditionally regarded as belonging in the ki- prefix class, although 'its' agreements are said to be those of the m- class. Thus we get:

†kipofu amefika               'the blind man has arrived'  
       S       P

If one regarded kipofu as a member of the m- class, one would then regard it as anomalous within its class, in having an irregular prefix. Personally I would prefer/

The relationship between P and C is also often realised by agreement, e.g.

† wazee walimpiga mttoto 'the parents beat the child'  
P C

† mtoto alikinunua kitabu 'the child bought the book'  
P C

This relationship is not always overt, however, since the presence or absence of the C-agreement in the item at P carries also a defining function. Moreover if the item at P is a copula, it cannot be marked for C. It is therefore clearer to say that the relationship P:C is generally manifested by the potentiality of agreement, which may or may not be realised in a particular instance. Where only one C is present, the presence or absence of the agreement depends on:-

1. (continued from previous page.) /prefer this view since where syntactic and morphological criteria clash I prefer to take the syntactic as the overriding one, in the interests of uniformity throughout the grammar. Morphological criteria are easy to apply with units at lower ranks in the scale (at word rank; and, less easily, at group rank). But they are by no means easy to apply with units of clause rank. In fact all previous grammars of Swahili have done little beyond describing word and group morphology. They do not attempt to describe relationships between larger units than words except perfunctorily and by implication. Professor W.H. Whiteley's grammar of Yao (Pub. O.U.P. 1966) does however describe that language in morphological terms throughout. But it is obviously very difficult to achieve when dealing with units of high rank, and Yao lends itself more easily to this approach than does Swahili, because of its higher degree of inflection. A syntactic approach seems more manageable and possibly more fruitful when dealing with high-ranking units, and it seems logical to apply the same approach throughout the grammar of a language. If we try a morphological approach for the lower ranks and a syntactic one for the higher, we will find places in the middle where the requirements of the two approaches clash, as here between S and P.

a) whether the item at C is in the m- wa- class.

In this case agreement is the neutral state. Non-agreement is very rare and probably throws a derogatory light on the item at C. To some extent names of animates also fit into this category.

b) if the item at C is in any other class, non-agreement is the neutral state. (See, however, the later statement on sequence of elements in clause structure.)

Agreement particularises the item at C, e.g.

† mtoto alinunua kitabu 'the child bought the/a book'  
P C

† mtoto alikinunua kitabu 'the child bought the book'  
P C  
(the one we were talking of,  
over there, etc.)

† mtoto aliona mwezi 'the child saw the moon'  
P C

(The distinction unique/non-unique is not made in Swahili.)

1. One might extrapolate from this that animate creatures are always particular individuals unless otherwise marked, in contrast to all other phenomena which have to be marked if particular. This would be another ground for including kipofu etc. in the m- class since

† mtoto alimwona kipofu 'the child saw the blind man'  
P C

is neutral, rather than:

† mtoto aliona kipofu  
P C

which is not polite, putting animate creatures on a level with things. A quotation from an informant on the subject may be of interest:

".... juu ya heshima ya watu. Mtu anapenda kusema 'Nimemwona' mtoto.' Ukisema 'Nimeona' anaweza kukasirika. Kusema 'nimemwona' unampa heshima. Hata na mnyama. 'Nimemnunua punda' - unamzidisha kumpa heshima kama punda yule ndiye uliyemtaka. Ukisema 'Nimenunua punda,' ni punda tu, inaweza kuwa mgonjwa. - 'Nimekuta watu' - wanaweza kuwa wezi. 'Nimewakuta watu' - wanaweza kufurahi wakisikia."/

Thus the relationships S:P:C are clearly distinguished and differentiated and are generally manifested: S:P by realisation in a verbal subject prefix, and P:C by potential realisation in a verbal object prefix. There is a fourth element of structure, A, distinguished by absence of any realised or potential agreement. There is seen then to be a cline or scale of potency of realisation of these relationships. The relationship P is Janus-like: always realised with S, and potentially with C (except in some special cases of P). S is always realised in relationship with P (again, except in a few special cases at P). C is potentially realised in relationship with P (except in special cases at P). A shows <sup>no</sup> ~~up~~ overt relation with P or with any other element; or, one might say, is manifested by zero realisation.

Although this agreement system is described as a realisation of relationships, it cannot conversely be regarded as a criterion for the existence of such relationships, however, since there are classes of items at P where the relationship cannot be shown.

1. (continued from previous page.) /wakisikia."  
".... concerning respect for people. A man prefers to say 'I've seen a child' (with C agreement). If you say 'I've seen' (without agreement) he might be annoyed. Saying 'I've seen' (with) you show him respect. Even for animals. 'I've bought a donkey' (with) you show it more respect, as if that donkey is the very one you wanted. If you say 'I've bought a donkey' (without), it's just a donkey - it might be ill. - 'I've met some people' (without) - they might be thieves 'I've met some people' (with) - they might be pleased if they heard."

Moreover it is clear in discussing relationships that a particular item may function at different places in structure, but that there will be restrictions on the possibilities of occurrence, e.g. *leo* may occur at S or A but not at P or C:

† 

mama	amenunua	samaki	leo
S	P	C	A

 'mother bought fish today'

leo	ni	sikukuu
S	P	C

 'today is a holiday'

(Informants rejected \**karamu ni leo*<sup>1</sup> 'the party is today' and the like.)

*kutenda* may occur at S, C, or P but not at A:

† 

kutenda	kuzuri
S	C

 'acting is good'

† 

kusema	si	kutenda
S	P	C

 'speaking is not acting'<sup>1</sup>

† 

kutenda	vitendo
P	C

 'doing something'

Items normally at A may sometimes function at S or C:

....*lakini matamshi yake ya namna hii, huenda yakawafanya raia kuwa na walakini juu ya uongozi wake, ....*

'but speeches of this sort may make the people have reservations about his leadership, ....'

Here the item *walakini*, normally at A, is functioning at C.

There are some examples of clauses especially common in spoken Swahili where one might wish to postulate a fifth element of structure, R (referent), e.g.

1. This construction is particularly common, especially in jocular utterances, e.g. in response to 'How are you?' an informant replied: "*Kulegalega si kuanguka*", 'tottering is not falling', 'I'm just staggering on'.

Huyu mfalme	roho yake	hakutaka kumsaidia	maskini.
S	?	P	C

lit. 'The king, his heart, he did not want to help the poor man.'

Huyu bwana	tabia yake	hakumsaidia	mwenzake.
S	?	P	C

'This man, his disposition, he did not help his friend.'

The groups roho yake and tabia yake are not in the relationships S, P or C as described above. They do not and cannot manifest S or C agreements. On the other hand they cannot be at A, since A is distinguished by absence of agreement with any other element of clause structure, for they do show agreement of a special kind (possession) with, in this case, items at S. They are not, however, part of S - they have their own concord system which is not that of the item at S, and they are not in agreement with P.

There is of course a possessive relationship within nominal groups, and the simplest form readily analysed as rank-shifted within the group is:

watoto [wa maskini] | wakasema .... 'and the poor man's  
S P

The form:

watoto wake maskini | wakasema ....

is less easy (because watoto wake wakasema .... 'his children said ....' can also exist), but it might be considered as a marked version of mtoto wa maskini.



especially in view of the fact that it appears to denote an actual explicit parental relationship, whereas the simpler form merely denotes a relationship of loco parentis, though it does not exclude parenthood. But grammatically there are objections to this, since the utterance wake maskini has not the status of a group in any other case. wa maskini does have, since it can function at S or C. watoto wake similarly. maskini appears to be out on a limb, though it is tied as the 'subject' of a possession relationship to the item at S (watoto wake). The sequence of appearance of the two groups may vary, c.f.:

mtoto huyu		mambo yake		imenichosha	'this child, his goings-
?		S		P	on make me tired'

- where mambo yake is clearly at S, but the status of mtoto huyu is not so clear. It is, however analogous to maskini in watoto wake maskini, since the form maskini watoto wake wakasema could also exist.

Forms such as wake, langu, zetu, etc. manifest simultaneously both the subject and the object of a possession relationship, while remaining part of the nominal group of the object. Either the subject or the object group of this possession relationship may be at S to P in clause structure, as preceding examples show:

mtoto huyu mambo yake imenichosha	'this child, his goings-
	on make me tired'

(object of possession relationship at S) and:

huyu bwana tabia yake hakumsaidia mwenzake

'this man, his disposition, he did not help his friend'

(subject of possession relationship at S).

Some kind of extension of S might be postulated as an analysis, which might at first seem attractive as a balance to the traditional view of two types of C (direct; indirect) e.g.

Huyu mtu tabia yake hakumsaidia mwenzake umaskini wake

'this man, his nature, he did not help his friend, his poverty'

But the traditional view does not seem to hold good for Swahili in any case, and therefore there is less reason for preferring such a solution. In fact in the last example, umaskini wake appears to be in the same relation to mwenzake as tabia yake is to huyu mtu, and it would be difficult in Swahili terms to analyse it as C.

If such items (subjects or objects of possession relationship) are to be regarded as separate elements of clause structure, it might be asked whether they can exist independently, and I think they can, e.g.:

kwani		mimi		sikufahamu		Bwana		habari zako?
A		S		P		A		?

'what, I don't know you sir, your carry-on?'

Here the object of the possession relationship is in relation to the Object prefix in the verb at P.

kazi yake | jana | alifanya | nini?  
           ?       A       P       C

'his work what did he do yesterday?'

Here the object of the possession relationship is in relation to the Subject prefix to the verb at P.

In the two latter cases the groups in question must be analysed as some element in clause structure. S, P, C and A having already been ruled out, they must constitute a fifth element, which I intend to call R (referent). In analysis, I think it would be helpful to specify, however, to which other element of clause structure they are related, e.g.  $R_S$ ,  $R_C$ . (This is not necessary in the case of S and C, since both are in overt relationship with the same element, P; nor in the case of A which is in overt relationship with no particular other element.)

Can there be an R element related to an item at A? There can be groups related by possession which are not at S, P or C, e.g.:

Kweli | wengi katika hao | gharama zao | tunasaidiwa | na  
       A       ?                   ?                   P  
 nchi za kigeni walio marafiki zetu  
       A

'Of course, many of them, their fees, we are helped by friendly foreign countries'

The question is, if one of these groups is to be at A and the other at  $R_A$ , which is which? Since there must be a decision, let us look back at the cases where R occurs

without the presence of its related S or C. It will be seen that only the object of the possession relationship occurs in isolation, although where both appear, either may be at R. On these grounds I would prefer to say that the object of the possession relationship is at  $R_A$ , and the subject at A. The example above would then be analysed:

Kweli | wengi katika hao | gharama zao ....  
           A                                   $R_A$

(In fact hao refers back to a previous sentence, but we are not here concerned with relationships between sentences.) But this need not be so, where one group is adverbial (e.g. consisting of kwa plus another item), as is seen in the following example:

||| Mtu [asiyepata kufika nchi za joto] | ni | vigumu |  
                                    $R_A$                   P                  C  
 kwake || kufahamu ....  
       A

'A man who has never been to hot countries, it is difficult for him to understand ....'

Of course the item kwake could occur at S or C, but its own form is none the less adverbial, and so far we have been dealing exclusively with nominal groups. I think that where there is a choice between a nominal and an adverbial group as to which is at A, I would choose the adverbial group.

In many cases it seems contextually as if these R elements are being brought into special prominence. In a sense, they are often what the utterance is really about, as opposed to what information is being given. This may be a subjective impression, however. A few more examples follow:

Oh, | mimi | safari yangu | ilikuwa ni | hivi  
A | R<sub>S</sub> | S | P | A

'Oh, I, my journey was like this'

Huyu bwana huyu | ndio | mambo yake | ni | mpendaji  
S----- | A | R<sub>S</sub> | P |

usingizi sana | huyu.  
C | --S

'This fellow here, truly his goings-on, he is a man who is very fond of sleep.'

The analysis would also distinguish between:

walimwiba | redio yake 'they stole his radio from him'  
P | R<sub>C</sub>

and:

† waliiba | redio yake 'they stole his radio'  
P | C

without invoking the direct:indirect object argument.

Since there can be an R in relation to items at S, C and A, can there be one to items at P? It is tempting to look for them, although obviously there cannot be the same possession relationship as manifested between nominal groups, or groups with nominal elements, items at P being only either verbal or copular. Nevertheless, there is often a nominal group (in fact usually a single item)

associated with a verb, not as S or C, but more closely, it seems, than A. Some of these structures are included by Mrs. Ashton under 'nominal constructions'; sometimes they are regarded as 'idiomatic'. I refer to forms like:

kupiga simu 'to telephone'

kuunga mkono 'to agree'

The verbal part of such groups functions exactly as any other verb, taking object prefixes, extensions, etc. e.g.

Aliwapigia ndugu zangu wote simu,

'He phoned up all my relatives,'

Usimwunge mkono,

'Don't agree with him,'

But the nominal groups, though clearly semantically an integral part of the verbal concept, show no overt relationship. Indeed, I think perhaps a distinction could be made between idiomatic expressions, where there is the relationship P:C between such items, and those where there is not. For example, the utterance kupiga kinanda can mean to play the piano, and that is its most usual meaning. It can also mean to strike a piano; and one would like to make a distinction in grammar between these two. But with or without object prefix, the expression can have either meaning. An even clearer example is with tafuna 'chew'.

The utterance:

Anautafuna sana usingizi, 'He sleeps like a log,'  
(lit. He chews sleep hard, / He chews a lot of sleep)  
shows clearly the relationship P:C in an idiomatic  
expression.

Where such expressions are not idiomatic, they often  
behave unusually when the verb is in the passive, e.g., c.f.:

active

passive

†mbwa alimwuma	'a dog bit him'	†aliumwa na mbwa
†mguu ulimwuma	'his leg hurt him'	†aliumwa mguu
†mbwa alimwuma mguu	'a dog bit his leg'	†aliumwa mguu na mbwa

It begins to look as if there may be some deep relationship  
of the nature of 'Instrument' that may have to be recognised  
at some stage to deal satisfactorily with phenomena such as:

†mama aliiwasha taa	'mother lit the lamp'	†taa iliwashwa na mama
†mama aliuwasha moto	'mother lit the fire'	†moto uliwashwa na mama
†mama aliiwasha moto taa	'mother lighted the lamp'	†taa iliwashwa moto na mama

and:

†nyumba iliugua moto	'the house burned'
----------------------	--------------------

and:

†nyumba ilijaa watu	}	'the house was full of people' <sup>1</sup>
†watu walijaa nyumba		

1. Professor Whiteley is currently engaged on some of these  
points as a matter of transitivity.

But until more work can be done on the deep structure<sup>1</sup> of Swahili, these constructions can be covered by analysing the nominal element as C or A according to its potentiality of agreement with P. An alternative solution of dubbing them 'phrasal verbs' poses exactly the same problems of isolation and analysis, and only names them with reference to some other grammatical unit 'phrase'. In this case one cannot be sure how far semantic concepts are a matter of translation, however objective one attempts to be. In any case, dealing with grammar, a semantic distinction which had absolutely no reflection in the grammar would have to be dealt with separately. And to return to the original question, there seems at the moment no good reason for calling these elements  $R_P$ .

Elements of structure S, P, C, A and R having been isolated, the next question to be dealt with is how many occurrences of each element can there be in a single clause. The position with S is reasonably straightforward, since there can be only one element S for each element P. Under most circumstances there can be only one element P in a clause, but in a few cases there may be more than one (see below). In such cases any element S may be in relation to both elements P, or there may be one element S to the first P and another element CS which is simultaneously C

1. That is, the underlying relationships that are reflected, though often indirectly and imperfectly, in the surface grammar, the overt relationships described in this thesis.



to the first P and S to the second. Examples illustrating two P elements in the following section will also illustrate these combined CS elements. Clauses which contain an element P need not have an element S, but those of the class Zero-predicated must have.

Usually there is only one element P in a clause. But take the example:

hakutaka | na | yeye | kwenda mjini,  
P        A       S       ?

'She didn't want either to go to town,'

There are three possibilities of analysis. The first is to rank-shift kwenda mjini and call it C. This might work but there are two objections. The first objection is that rank-shift should be avoided as far as possible because it obviates further analysis from a syntactic standpoint. The second objection is the same as the objection to the second possibility, viz. to treat kwenda mjini as a clause at  $\beta$ . This would be simple in the example above, but not so simple in the example:

Alimwomba babake amnunulie baisikeli.

'He begged his father to buy him a bicycle.'

Here the item babake is clearly at C to alimwomba and at S to amnunulie. If this utterance consists of two clauses, where is the dividing-line? The third possibility is to regard this as a single clause with two P elements, and babake as CS. However, if this latter solution is

adopted, it blurs the distinction between a single clause and two clauses in  $\alpha \beta$  relationship where the  $\beta$  relationship is manifested by verbal forms *ku-* and *-e*. Indeed, *-ki-* might also come into it, as in the example already quoted: *Sijamwona mumeo akienda kwenye kuni*.

'I haven't yet seen you husband going for firewood.'

In a sense this is inevitable, since grammatical distinctions are all on a cline, and what the grammarian does is to decide where to make cuts. I think in this case that two restrictions can be made. First, that only non-finite forms are permissible at the second element P, and second that there is probably some semantic restriction on items at the first element P. Verbs of wishing, persuading, perceiving, perhaps. It might even be possible to make a finite list. There is another argument in favour of this solution, in that in some cases the choice of verbal form at the second P is fixed, in some cases it is in free variation, and in some cases it depends on whether the subject of the second P is the same as that of the first or not. In other words, in this type of structure, the verbal forms *ku-* and *-e* are functioning in a sort of complementary distribution, predictable from other grammatical factors, whereas when functioning as exponents of dependence they are in no predictable way interchangeable. Finally, single clauses of this type tend to have only one

tone-group, whereas clauses  $\alpha\beta$  tend to have two.

There can be a 'chain' of these P elements, e.g.

†Nataka P <sub>I</sub>	mtoto CS	amwombe P <sub>II</sub>	mwalimu CS	afike P <sub>III</sub>	kesho. A
---------------------------	-------------	----------------------------	---------------	---------------------------	-------------

'I want the child to ask the teacher to come tomorrow.'

(In each case the CS element is C to the preceding P and S to the following one.)

Absence of P is characteristic of clauses of the Zero-predicated class.

The relationship P:C has been stated earlier to be manifested by the possibility of an object prefix in the verb at P. Now in most classes of clause only one group can show this relationship, e.g.

<sup>t</sup> Nimekinunua <u>P</u>	kitabu hiki C	leo, A
--------------------------------------	------------------	-----------

'I bought this book today'

Nimemnunulia P	mtoto C	kitabu hiki ?	leo, A
-------------------	------------	------------------	-----------

'I bought the child this book today,'

(The group kitabu hiki in the second example does not show agreement in the verb by object prefix and therefore has a question mark below it. One would wish to regard it as at C, however.)

But in relative clauses (whether rank-shifted or not) more than one group can show agreement within the verb, e.g.

Kweli yule bwana [ maneno yake | aliyoniambia | mimi ]

ni sawasawa kabisa.

'Certainly what that man told me is quite correct.'

Here the combination of a class prefix with what Mrs. Ashton calls to 'o of reference' may be taken to manifest another C relationship. A single item may be shown as at either or both kinds of C relationship if only one item is present and no particular type of C relationship is specifically required (as, for example, by a 'prepositional' verb, which requires the type of relationship marked in the second example above).

For example:

a)†kitabu nilikinunua ( $C_1$ ) 'I bought the book'

(This form is not relative but it can function in the place of b) or c) in colloquial speech.)

b)† <u>kitabu nilich<u>o</u>nunua</u> ( $C_2$ )	}	'The book which
c)† <u>kitabu nilich<u>o</u>kinunua</u> (both $C_1$ and $C_2$ )		I bought'

The '-o-' of course may also refer to S, as in:

mtu aliyeondoka 'the man who left'

It is thus a marker of relativity with reference by concord to an item at S,  $C_1$  or  $C_2$ ; and  $C_2$  is only unequivocally distinguished when both S and  $C_1$  are also manifested by agreement within P, as in the example above:

.... maneno yake  $\frac{a-li-yo-ni-ambia}{\begin{matrix} S & C_2 & C_1 \end{matrix}}$  ....

Even with clauses which are not relative, there seems to operate a sort of push-down system. We are quite familiar with the operation of this in the case of the

'simple' vs. 'prepositional' verbal form (although previous attempts to describe it have been in terms of 'direct' and 'indirect' object), as in the examples quoted above:

† nimekinunua kitabu .... 'I bought a book'

† nimemnunulia mtoto kitabu .... 'I bought the child a book'

The item that in the first example had the direct, marked agreement with the verb, gives place to another in the second example. What has not previously been brought out, I think - perhaps because of the habit of thinking of such expressions as somehow idiomatic - is the fact that the push-down system can work without a prepositional verbal form being invoked if the first example is of the type -piga + noun. For example, although the form -piga teke is usually translated 'kick' and regarded as somehow a single concept, this may in fact only be because of the translation equivalent. Anyway one can certainly have: Alilipiga teke, 'He gave a great kick,'

- in a football game, for example; as well as:

Alimpiga teke mwenzake, 'He kicked his companion,'

Two 'objects' seem to be the limit in acceptability to informants, however, and attempts to construct clauses with three are usually rejected, although at least one was accepted:

Alimpigia mtoto nyoka fimbo

'He hit the snake with a stick for the child,'

Nevertheless in view of the 'prepositional' form of the verb one would probably analyse fimbo as at A.

Attempts to reformulate sentences and to discuss the relationships P:C with reference to these reformulations lead to a very complex situation. (See Professor Whiteley's work on transitivity, *to be published shortly*.) It is not clear whether what is set up by the mapping of possibilities and restrictions is best regarded as transitivity in the clause or classes of verb. A few crude facts emerge, such as while it is possible to reformulate

<sup>†</sup> mama | alimpa | mtoto | zawadi  
S | P | C

'the mother gave the child a reward' as:

<sup>†</sup> mtoto | aliipewa | zawadi | na mama  
S | P | C

'the child was given a reward by the mother'

there are severe (possibly lexical) restrictions on the number of verbs which can occur in the passive and with object prefix. On the other hand, a small number of verbs cannot occur with object prefixes at all, and for a much larger number there appear to be restrictions on the class of item at C. Attempts to make other reformulations run up against other difficulties and restrictions. For example, we can have:

<sup>†</sup> wazee | walimnunulia | shati | mtoto  
S | P | C

'the parents bought the child a shirt' and:

† mtoto | alinunuliwa | shati | na wazee  
           S                   P

'the child was bought a shirt by the parents'

But if shati is at S, mtoto can only be brought in within another group, e.g.:

† shati [la mtoto] | lilinunuliwa | na wazee  
           S                                   P

'the child's shirt was bought by the parents' or:

† shati | lilinunuliwa | na wazee mtoto  
           S                   P                   A

'the shirt was bought by the child's parents'

One cannot in this instance say the equivalent of the English:

'a shirt was bought the child by his parents'.<sup>1</sup>

Since it is not yet clear what relevance, if any, the large range of different patterns and combinations of patterns produced by reformulations has to the relationship P:C, for the moment I intend to utilise the object prefix,<sup>2</sup> and where this does not occur, proceed by analogy, while recognising that this means dealing with the surface grammar of the language, whereas clues to the deep grammar may well come out of the work on reformulation.

To sum up: there can be two element C:C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub>, as well as elements CS already dealt with. In clauses of the class Zero-predicated there must be an element C; in all other classes there need not be.

1. Professor Guthrie tells me this is not possible for him in English either. I think it could occur in my idiolect, however.

2. The term 'object prefix' is used by Mrs. Ashton and although the term 'object infix' might be preferable in some ways, especially considering the usage in description of other Bantu languages, it seems probably less confusing to retain it.

There can be a large number of elements A in a clause, although there are a number of sub-categories with restrictions as to number and position in the clause. (See later section on items at A. p. /44 )

There can be as many elements R as there are groups (or rank-shifted units) with nominal items in the clause. This does not exclude the possibility of  $R_R$  in a sort of chain, as in:

yule	mfalme		binti	yake		pete	yake		imepotea
$R_R$			$R_S$			S			P

'the king, his daughter, her ring is lost'<sup>1</sup>

Possible combinations of elements of structure of the clause.

Since elements of structure are defined with relation to each other, it is obvious that a clause which consists of only one group has no structure qua clause. So a clause which consisted simply of:

||saa moja kasoro dakika kumi,|| 'ten to seven,'  
might be said to consist of one group (a nominal group), which itself consists of five words in a certain relationship. The clause:

||haiwezi,|| 'it can't be,'  
also consists of one group (a verbal group) which itself consists of one word. As clauses they have no structure because they contain no other groups with which a relationship would be possible.

1. I am indebted to Miss M.A. Bryan for this example.



In certain cases it may even be impossible to label the group as nominal, verbal or adverbial, as in:

||Kuhusu? || 'What about?'

This is a sentence consisting of one clause consisting of one group consisting of one word of the class Noun. Nouns may, however, figure in groups other than nominal, as will be seen in the chapter on groups.

A clause might consist of more than one group in any of the relationships described in the following chapter, without constituting more than a single potential element of structure. For example, two or more nominal groups in apposition would only constitute a single potential S, C or A. Such clauses, like those consisting of one group, have no structure as clauses, since structure consists of relationships between different elements.

A clause could consist of more than one group of the same potential element of structure, for example two verbal groups e.g.:

alitaka | kwenda 'he wanted to go'

or two adverbial groups, e.g.:

labda | kwa bwana 'perhaps at the boss's place,'

But again, since elements of structure are defined in relation to other, different, elements, clauses consisting of more than one group each at the same potential element of structure, cannot be said to have clause structure in themselves. They are a sub-class of minor clause.

Clauses consisting of two different elements of structure.

It might seem that clauses consisting of two groups other than SP or PC would also be unanalysable, but this is not so, since items at P are either S-marked or otherwise almost always distinguishable, and therefore PA can also be distinguished. An example of ambiguity would be:

kufika kwake

- analysable either as a single nominal group 'his arrival', or as a clause consisting of the elements PA, 'to get to his house/arriving at his house'. More difficult are examples where no P is present, but where one of the items consists of a group which cannot be at S or C. This item can be analysed as at A only in terms of its own structure and thence by analogy, and the remaining item, capable by its own structure of being at either S or C is in fact neutral as no P is present. These latter items are here designated S/C. Examples of all these possibilities follow:

mimi		nitakuambia,	'I will tell you,'
S		P	
sina		saa,	'I have no watch,'
P		C	
anatetemeka		kabisa,	'he trembles all over,'
P		A	
wewe		pia,	'you too,' <sup>1</sup>
S/C		A	

1. These clauses might also be included under Minor, I think.

When a clause consists of two nominal groups, not in apposition (see pp. 85, 102 and also pp 137-8) the two groups might be analysed as S/C - i.e. neutral as to S or C. Or they might even be regarded as constituting a single group. These three possibilities are distinguished by intonation. A single nominal group would not have more than one tone-group. (See p 105 for definition of tone-group.) Nominal groups in apposition might have separate tone-groups but if so they would repeat the same one. The structures in question, separate nominal groups not in apposition, have either two different tone-groups ('non-final', 'final'), or they have a single tone-group, with the second nominal group in 'parenthesis' pattern - a sort of tailing-off of a 'final' tone-group. Or they have a single tone-group with the tonic on the second nominal group. I would suggest that the group which has the 'final' tone-group or the tonic is at C and the other one is at S. For example ('final' tone-group tonic marked \ )

nguru<sup>\</sup>we | huyu      'it's a pig'  
C                      S

huyu | nguru<sup>\</sup>we      'this is a pig/he is a pig'  
S                      C

In some cases the possibility of a single group is ruled out anyway, e.g.:

wote | watanzania      'they are all Tanzanians'  
S                      C

cannot be a single group ('all Tanzanians') because the

structure of the nominal group does not have this sequence of items.

Possibilities with R have already been discussed (p.83 )  
Clauses consisting of three different elements of structure.

Examples do not include R, since it has already been discussed. The relationships S and C where no P is present have been discussed in the previous section.

huyu | ni | mpendaji usingizi,  
 S | P | C

'this is a man who loves sleep,'

yeye | atalala | mpaka saa mbili,  
 S | P | A

'he will sleep until 8 o'clock,'

anafagia | nguo | tayari,  
 P | C | A

'he brushes his clothes properly,'

kumbe | mimi mwenyewe | mzima,  
 A | S | C

'and yet I myself am perfectly well,'

Clauses consisting of four different elements of structure.

Excluding R:

Na | boti yetu | ilikuwa inapima | maili,  
 A | S | P | C

'and our boat was measuring the distance,'

Clauses consisting of more than four different elements of structure.

Example:

huyu mfalme | roho yake | hakutaka | kumsaidia | maskini |  
 S | R<sub>S</sub> | P<sub>I</sub> | P<sub>II</sub> | C |  
 hata kidogo,  
 A

'this king, his heart, he did not want to help the poor man at all,'

Clauses consisting of more than five different elements may have R elements to the other nominal groups; P elements in phase (i.e.  $P_I$ ,  $P_{II}$ , ....); C-elements  $C_1$  and  $C_2$ ; and a large number of A elements, with restrictions on the number and type of these elements requiring further investigation. The following example has four A elements:

na		wewe		bwana		katika njia zako		bila shaka	
A		S		A		A		A	
unatuonyesha				urongo,					
P				C <sub>2</sub>					

'and you sir, in your behaviour, clearly demonstrate a lie to us,'

#### Sequence of elements of structure.

Just as the sequence of clauses is significant within the sentence, so the sequence of groups is significant within the clause. The neutral sequence is SPC for these three elements. The element R in its neutral position follows the element to which it refers. If the element to which it refers is not present, it takes the position of that element. A elements are more complicated, since some classes of items at A have fixed positions, whereas others are moveable. Those which are fixed are sometimes restricted to a particular position in the clause (e.g. initial or final), sometimes restricted with respect to

other groups, especially items at P. It may be the case that particular sequences are often associated with particular intonation patterns, or with features such as the position of the tonic, but in the examples given to illustrate possible sequences, only neutral intonation is found - that is, one tone-group per clause, and the tonic on the penultimate syllable. Some notes on the interaction of sequence and intonation are found on pages 104-116

### S:P

The neutral sequence is SP:

mimi | nitakuambia, 'I will tell you,'  
S P

The marked sequence is PS:

nitakuambia | mimi,  
P S

Further examples of marked sequence follow:

Sasa ni lazima || ujishughulishe | wewe.  
P S

'Now you must take an interest.'

nitazama | wewe, 'look at me yourself,'  
P S

Nitamwita | mimi || nimwangalie.  
P S

'I will send for him, to look him over.'

The above examples are a little difficult to interpret, since the item as S is a pronoun, and verbs being in any case marked for person and number, the presence of a pronoun is grammatically redundant, and therefore in itself constitutes a kind of emphasis. Moreover, since

these examples have been chosen because of their neutral tonicity (tonic on the penultimate syllable), what emphasis the intonation gives also falls on the pronoun. These are different kinds of emphasis. Nevertheless it seems that even in these examples a certain emphasis is also being given by its position to the item at P. It is not easy to be sure of this, if the sequence of two items is reversed, how can one say which is displaced? The next example is not much more helpful, since the actual item used at S is emphatic in itself:

||| Kama ni mbaya, ||| utanipa | mwenyewe. |||

'If it is no good, you can give me one yourself.'

And even more so:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{nitakwenda} & | & \text{kumwambia} & | & \text{mimi mwenyewe,} \\ P_I & & P_{II} & & S \end{array}$$

'I am going to tell him myself,'

The following examples all occurred in passages where the interest was in the action, in a rapid series of events. I think that this supports the assertion that the sequence here marks the item at P:

Anakula		farasi,	'the horse eats,'
P		S	

akachukua | yule mtoto, 'the girl took it,'  
P S

anafikiri | sultani, 'the sultan thinks,'  
P S

akaingia | mtoto yule || akakaa, 'and the girl went in,  
P S  
and sat down.'

wakaitwa | watu wengi, 'and many people were invited,'  
P S

akaitwa | boi, 'and a servant was called,'  
P S

Sometimes clues may be gleaned from the context, for example the nature of other items in the clause, as in the next example:

akarudi | yule mtoto | mpaka kwenye nyumbake,  
P S

'and the girl went back to where she lived,'

Here the item at P is marked by the preceding S, and the impression that the interest of the speaker is on this item is strengthened by the amplification at A in the remainder of the clause. In the next example the other clauses in the sentence give the clue:

||| Sasa | alipozaliwa | mtoto || ikawa bibi hawezi kutembea  
P S  
tena kwa sababu amezaa. |||

'Now when the child was born, the result was that the woman could not get about because she had given birth.'

Here the emphasis is clearly on the fact of birth, not on the child.

### P:C

The neutral sequence is PC, e.g.

anafungasha | vitu vyake vya safari,  
P C

'he bundles together his things for the journey,'

The marked sequence is CP, e.g.:

Kiswahili | anakifahamu | sana, 'Swahili he knows well,'  
C P



yule<sub>C</sub> punda | akamfunga<sub>P</sub> | kule, 'the donkey she tied up  
there,'

In these examples the item at C is being given emphasis,  
and I think this is generally true for the sequence CP.

It does not seem to have been noted that whenever C  
precedes P, an object prefix is almost invariably present.  
The use of the object prefix when the sequence is neutral  
(PC) has often been pointed out as a form of marking.  
(e.g. niliona kitabu, 'I found a book,' vs. nilikiona  
kitabu, 'I found the book,' - some kind of referential  
form, perhaps.) But marking by object prefix is clearly  
neutralised when the sequence is CP if agreement is  
obligatory. The shift in position and the obligatory  
agreement going together, the distinction 'reference' has  
to be shown by other means, if at all. In fact I think  
it is shown by the use of separate tone-groups for C and P,  
though with the reservation that it may well be that it is  
this case (the sequence CP with two tone-groups) that is  
not marked for 'reference' and therefore should be coupled  
with the sequence PC. In such cases the object prefix  
sometimes does not occur, which reinforces the idea.  
See page 106 - intonation.

It is interesting also to note that items with agreeing  
- o - affix always precede P, and therefore no significance  
can be attached to this position from a contrastive point

of view, although it is a fact that such items are simultaneously in a position which under other circumstances would indicate prominence<sup>1</sup> and are being marked for 'reference' by the presence in the item at P of the -o-form. It does not matter whether the items referred to are at S, C<sub>1</sub> + C<sub>2</sub>, or C<sub>2</sub>. e.g.:

†	mtu		<u>aliyekuona</u>	'the man who saw you'
	S		P	
†	mtu		waliyemwona	'the man whom they saw'
	C <sub>1</sub> +C <sub>2</sub>		P	
†	mtu		waliyekuonyesha	'the man they showed you'
	C <sub>2</sub>		P	

It makes no difference what the sentence context is for such clauses.

In cases where the item at P cannot be marked for C or S (e.g. some copulas) the sequence PC is fixed. This is not so when the item can be marked for S, e.g.:

neutral,	sina		saa,	
	P		C	
marked,	†saa		sina,	'I have no watch,'
	C		P	

But:

ni		mwoga,	'he's a coward,'
P		C	
si		saa moja na robo,	'not quarter past seven,'
P		C	

1. In this thesis I am using the words 'prominence, prominent' as neutral terms indicating some kind of special marking for emphasis which may be intrinsic in an item (e.g. the occurrence of personal pronouns in Swahili is in itself a kind of marking and the items are intrinsically prominent since verbs are in any case inflected for person), or an item may have prominence by virtue of its non-neutral position in structure, or by the fact that it occupies the position of the tonic or of the highest point in the tone-group.

This carries the corollary that where P is not S-marked, and no C is present, the sequence PS cannot exist, although PCS can. (See p 107.)

S:P:C.

The neutral sequence is SPC, e.g.:

bibi		amezaa		mtoto,		'my wife has had a child,'
S		P		C		

[[ siku uliondoka ]]		ni		moja		'the day you left was the
S		P		C		same' (i.e. 'you left the
						same day,')

Clearly the theoretical possibilities for marked sequence are: 1. SCP, 2. PCS, 3. PSC, 4. CPS, 5. CSP. Examples of all possibilities have been found.

1. SCP

sisi		vyakula vyetu		tunavyokula		hapa ni vya kishenzishenzi,
S		C		P		

'the food which we eat here is just rubbish,'

2. PCS

nitakupa		pesa		mimi,		'I will give you money,'
P		C		S		

3: PSC

sasa wakati		wakipita		yule babake - yule maskini na
		P		S

mtoto wake		wale binti,
		C

'so while the father - the poor man and his son were passing the daughters,'

4. CPS

riziki		anaipata <sup>1</sup>		dudu,		'the insect gets sustenance,'
C		P		S		

5. CSP

bibi | njaa | inamwuma | sana,     'the wife is very hungry,'  
C     | S             | P

In each of the above examples, I would say that the first item is being given prominence by its position, and a subsidiary degree of prominence is being given to the second item, except where these items are in a neutral position relative to the following item, e.g. in 5, bibi has marking or prominence because it comes first and would not normally do so; njaa does not because it is in its neutral position vis-à-vis inamwuma. Number 1 is not a good example because, as explained above, since the clause is relative, the item referred to by the -o- must precede P. In this case the item is at C, so that although in this clause the position of S is moveable, that of C relative to P is not. Some other, non-relative clauses with the sequence SCP did occur, but always with more than one tone-group, and it may be that the sequence cannot otherwise occur. In examples 2, 3 and 4, there is a gradation of marking by position, although it should not be forgotten that the final position gets some prominence anyway by virtue of the position of the tonic; and in the case of number 2 there is also the fact that the item itself is a prominent one. In fact a large number of clauses of the

1. (from previous page). -pat- has interesting possibilities of occurrence with object prefixes, e.g.: riziki aliopata dudu na mimi itanipata ile ile. 'the sustenance which the insect got, the same will also fall on me.'

pattern PCS turned up, but almost always with marked intonation patterns. (See pp 106 ff.)

# C<sub>1</sub>:C<sub>2</sub>

Where both C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> occur there is more room for variation. The neutral sequence seems to be SPC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>, e.g.:

aliwapigia | ndugu zangu wote | simu,  
P C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub>

'he phoned up all my relatives,'

akamfungia | mtoto wake | zawadi nzuri sana,  
P C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub>

'and she parcelled up a fine present for her child,'

The following marked forms have been found:

Riziki | anampa | mtu | mahala po pote alipo.  
C<sub>2</sub> P C<sub>1</sub>

'He gives man sustenance wherever he may be.'

Mimi, mungu, | umaskini huu | utatumalizikia | lini |  
huu | sisi?  
-C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub>-----

'As for me, Lord, when will you make an end to this poverty for us?'

wakampakia | dhahabu zile tele kabisa | punda,  
P C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>1</sub>

'and they loaded up the donkey with masses of gold,'

I have no examples of C<sub>1</sub> preceding P where C<sub>2</sub> is also present. I think they could occur, but would probably involve separate tone-groups. The sequence C<sub>2</sub>PC<sub>1</sub> is quite frequent, and marks the C<sub>2</sub> and also perhaps the P to

some extent. The sequence  $PC_2C_1$  marks the  $C_2$ . When it occurs it is often with the tonic on the  $C_2$ , a further sign of marking.

$P_I:P_{II}:CS$ .

$P_{II}$ ... must always follow  $P_I$ . Where CS occurs it comes between the P elements. I do not think any other possibility exists.

Sequence involving A.

There are various sub-classes of items at A, some of which have a fixed position in the clause (e.g. linking and binding adjuncts almost always occur initially). Thus to some extent function and position coincide. Some adjuncts have positions fixed in relation to other elements of structure (e.g. kila precedes other elements - though it could be analysed as part of a nominal group - and tu follows other elements), e.g.:

yule	babake		kila		akitazama,
S			A		P

'whenever her father looked,'

kila		mmoja		asema		amtaka Kibwana.
(A)		S		P		

'every one says she wants Kibwana.'

basi		anafurahi		tu		yule bwana,
A		P		A		S

'so the man was simply happy,'

anakaa		kimya		tu,
P		A		A

'he just lies low,'

leo | nimepata | mboga | tu,  
 A | P | C | A

'today I only got greenstuff,'

wanatumia | tu | zile pesa,  
 P | A | C

'they simply spend the money,'

Such adjuncts may be regarded as modifiers of single units, whereas most adjuncts could be considered as modifiers of the whole of the rest of the clause. A few more notes on particular items will be found on page 144 ff.

Considering now those items at A whose position can vary in relation to other units, there is clearly a very wide range of possibilities, most of which can be found without difficulty.

#### S:P:A.

The neutral sequence, at least for the examples given, is SPA, with one possible exception. e.g.:

vyakula | vimetuishia | humo nyumbani,  
 S | P | A

'Our food is finished up in the house.'

Other possibilities are: 1. SAP, 2. ASP, 3. PSA, 4. PAS, 5. APS.

#### 1. SAP

mama | siku ile | alikuja | kuniona,  
 S | A | P<sub>I</sub> | P<sub>II</sub>

'that day my mother came to see me,'

#### 2. ASP

robo saa nzima | mwenzake | amesubiri,  
 A | S | P

'a whole quarter of an hour your friend waited,'

3. PSA

wakala | watu | pale, 'the people ate there,'  
P S A

4. PAS

Ni | vipi | mambo haya? 'What's all this?'  
P A S

5. APS

basi | akaitwa | boi, 'so a servant was called,'  
A P S

The item basi can occur in any position relative to S and P, even between them, e.g.

mimi | basi | sivichukue, 'well I shan't carry them,'  
S A P

but it is hard to say what its neutral position in the clause is, since its function in different positions seems to differ. It often functions as a sort of linker, initial in a clause. It often seems to be a sort of mark of finality at the end of a sentence. It may be a special case. Another example of ASP would be:

siku ile | nilifikiria | mimi... 'that day I thought ...'  
A P S

Again it seems that the first displaced item (taking neutral as SPA) is being singled out for marking in this way, and that if the second element is also displaced it has a secondary marking, bearing in mind that the position of the tonic gives a different kind of prominence at the same time.

P:C:A.

The neutral sequence with items at A that can vary in position, is PCA, e.g.:



akafunga | farasi wake | nje,  
P C A

'she tied up her horse outside,'

ameletewa | mgonjwa | haraka sana,  
P C A

'he had been brought a patient in an emergency,'

Other possibilities are: 1. PAC, 2. APC, 3. CPA, 4. CAP,  
5. ACP, all of which occur.

1. PAC

akampokea | vizuri | mtoto wake,  
P A C

'he welcomed his child warmly,'

vizuri could not in fact occur in first position here,  
although it could well be final. But another item such  
as siku ile could occur in all three positions.

2. APC

asubuhi yake | nililetewa | chai,  
A P C

'the next day I was brought some tea,'

3. CPA

yule punda | akamfunga | kule,  
C P A

'she tied up the donkey there,'

4. CAP

mate | siku ile | nikimeza,  
C A P

'if I swallowed spittle that day,'

5. ACP

sasa | yule punda | wakamwiba,  
A C P

'now they steal the donkey,'

It seems again that front-shifting (i.e. the placing of an element earlier in a structure than it would neutrally appear) has the effect of marking that element, but that a move from second position to first, or from third to second gives less prominence than a move from third to first.  
S:C:A.

The classes of items at A which can occur with S and C (i.e. Zero-predicator clauses) seem to be restricted, and to exclude those referring to time and place, with the exception of some borderline cases such as *sasa* 'now', which may have the meaning of 'now then', rather than now in a temporal sense. The items at A which can occur here are in general those whose neutral position is initial in the clause, e.g.

1. *lakini* | *huyu mtu* | *mjanja*,  
A S C

'but this man is a scoundrel,'

and although they can occur second, e.g.

2. *huyu mtu* | *labda* | *mpumbavu*,  
S A C

'perhaps this man is a fool,'

if they occur final they cannot have the tonic. e.g.

3. *huyu mtu* | *namna gani* | *basi?*  
S C A

'what sort of man is this then?'

All the above examples have S and C in that order.

C can precede S in this class of clause, but this is shown

by the intonation, the tonic always falling on the C element. Moreover I am inclined to think that in such clauses with only one tone-group, the tonic cannot fall on the A element. So that although the sequences ACS, CAS, CSA can occur, the tonics will always fall on the C element, e.g.:

†4. lakini      mjanja      huyu,  
           A                   C                   S

†5. mjanja      lakini      huyu,                    'but he's a scoundrel'  
           C                   A                   S

†6. mjanja      huyu      lakini,  
           C                   S                   A

Of the first three clauses, I think only number 2 shows marking of the A item. In number 3 the marking is to a large extent cancelled by the absence of the tonic on the item. Of the second three, only 5 and 6 show any marking of A by sequence, and it is hard to say which is the more marked - perhaps 5.

S:P:C:A.

Where three other units are also present there are 24 possibilities of arrangement, but they are only extensions of what has been already shown to be possible with relation to fewer items. Examples follow with four elements, S, P, and C being in neutral sequence.

1. Huyu punda | ana | nini | hapo?  
           S                   P                   C                   A

'What's the matter with the donkey there?'

2. Siku nyingine | bibi yangu | anachuma | majani,  
           A                   S                   P                   C

'Other days my wife picks greenstuff,'

3. Mzigo | sasa | unampa | taabu,  
           S       A       P       C

'Now the load gives him trouble,'

4. yule binti sultani | anamtazama | sana | Kibwana,  
                   S                   P       A       C

'the sultan's daughter looks fixedly at Kibwana,'

In examples 2, 3 and 4 the item at A is marked by being out of its neutral, final, position. Not all items could have all positions, and in many cases, particularly when a large number of elements of structure are present, if one is displaced there is a tendency for the clause to have two tone-groups.

C<sub>1</sub>:C<sub>2</sub>:A.

As has been shown by examples already given, A can precede or follow either C<sub>1</sub> or C<sub>2</sub>. If both are present, A can likewise follow or precede both, and it can also occur between them, e.g.:

usimpe | siri yako | kabisa | mfalme,  
          P           C<sub>2</sub>       A       C<sub>1</sub>

'don't give your secret away completely to the king,'

This example is interesting because all elements of structure except P are marked in some way: C<sub>2</sub> and A by sequence, C<sub>1</sub> by the presence of the tonic.

A nice example with all possible elements (except CS) present in neutral sequence is:

na | mume wangu | alitaka | kuwapigia | ndugu zangu | wote |  
   A       S                   P<sub>I</sub>           P<sub>II</sub>                   C<sub>1</sub>  
 simu | siku ile,  
   C<sub>2</sub>       A

'and my husband wanted to phone up all my family that day,'  
In fact, however, the tonic came on simu, with siku ile  
as a sort of extra - not a new tone-group, but low and level.

P<sub>I</sub>:P<sub>II</sub>:other elements.

As has been stated earlier, P<sub>I</sub> and P<sub>II</sub>... may be  
separated by CS, and this is probably the only position  
for this element. Where the same item is at S to both  
P elements, it can separate them, e.g.:

Hawezi | yeye | kushindwa | na njaa || kwa sababu ana mtoto  
P<sub>I</sub> | S | P<sub>II</sub> | A ||  
tumboni.

'She cannot go hungry because she is pregnant.'

In this example the item at P is marked by position, the  
item as S is marked in itself (being a pronoun).

Certain items at A can also come between items at P,  
e.g.:

hataki | hata | kuteremka, 'he won't even get down,'  
P<sub>I</sub> | A | P<sub>II</sub>

Here again the item at P<sub>I</sub> is marked by position, and so is  
the item at A. (Though this latter item would neutrally  
come first, not last.)

Intonation and clause structure.

The role of intonation seems particularly important  
at the rank of clause, and of course merits a separate  
study. So far in the discussion of sequence of elements  
of clause structure I have confined myself to examples

where the intonation pattern remains constant. Nevertheless although intonation is not the subject of this study, it seems desirable to say something about it at this stage in order not to exclude some of the more complex patterns of sequence of elements which correlate, or at least co-occur with more complex intonation patterns. The tone-group is the unit of phonetic structure which most often coincides with the grammatical unit clause. Each tone-group contains one tonic syllable. There are several different classes of tone-group, classed according to the movement of the tonic. The two most important classes are for the moment called 'Final' and 'Non-final'. These are distinguished respectively by a fall to a low pitch, and a fall to a medium pitch, on the part of the tonic. (There are at least two others, one with a rising tonic and one with a level.) The tonic syllable is that on which the greatest change in direction takes place within the tone-group. This is normally the penultimate syllable, but not necessarily. Another important point in the tone-group is the point of highest pitch. It seems to me that this highest point marks a point of contrast or possibly 'new' information, and is quite freely moveable within the tone-group; whereas the tonic marks a point of stress, but is less freely moveable, variation in sequence of items possibly compensating for this. The placing of these

two points - the highest point and the tonic - could of course coincide, in which case the item at which they coincided would be both stressed and contrastive. It is also possible that a tone-group might extend over more than one clause, and conversely that there might be more than one tone-group to a single clause. The latter possibility - more than one tone-group to a clause - is of most interest when dealing with the possibilities of sequence within the clause. There are thus three parameters to deal with: position of the tonic; position of the highest point; number of tone-groups. Each will be dealt with separately. Much more research needs to be done, but I would say at the moment that the neutral state for 'Final' tone-groups vis-à-vis clauses is for there to be one tone-group to the clause, the tonic to be on the penultimate syllable of the last polysyllabic item, and the highest point to be on the penultimate syllable of the first polysyllabic item.

#### Position of the tonic.

As stated earlier, the neutral position for the tonic is on the penultimate syllable of the last polysyllable in the tone-group. But there are some exceptions to this. For example, 'vocative' items never seem to take the tonic, unless for contrast plus stress, e.g. neutral intonation for the following clause would have the tonic

on the second element:

njoo hapa bwana, 'come here sir,'

and would only have the tonic on bwana 'sir' if there were a contrast, e.g. bwana as opposed to bibi 'madam'. Conversational Swahili is liberally sprinkled with vocative titles of this sort, but they hardly ever take the tonic.

Another situation where the tonic does not fall in the neutral position is when the final item is a pronoun, e.g.:

mnakula | nini | nyinyi? 'what do you eat?'  
P C S

labda mna pèsa | nyinyi, 'maybe you have money,'  
A P C S

usihofu | kitu | wewe, 'don't you be afraid of anything,'  
P C S

tulikuwa | wawili | tu | sisi, 'there were only two of us,'  
P C A S

This is a very frequent pattern in Swahili, and I think the 'explanation' is that the use of a pronoun is in itself a form of marking, but to put it final and not to give it the tonic very much reduces the effect. On the other hand the placing of the tonic on a non-final item gives extra stress to that item. In the last example the word tu never gets a tonic because it has only one syllable.

Notice however that in all these cases the word order is marked. Perhaps more striking are examples where the final item is not a pronoun e.g.:

akafunga | mlango | yule bibi, 'the woman shut the door,'  
P C S



alikuwa ana | mimba | yule bibi, 'the woman was pregnant,'  
           P          C          S

basi | akachukua | farasi | yule mtoto wa kichinja mimba,  
       A          P          C          S  
 'so the last-born took a horse,'

walifika | tēna | waizi, 'the thieves came again,'  
           P          A          S

In all cases the final group after the tonic is on a low, level intonation, sometimes sinking down even lower than the pitch at the end of the tonic.

Another case where the tonic is not in its neutral position is when the final group is in apposition to some earlier item, e.g.:

uliniona | mpumbavu < sana > mimi,  
           P          C----- A --C  
 'you thought me a great fool,'

kwani | wapenda | sisi < tupate | taabu > sisi | mama zako?  
       A          P<sub>I</sub>          CS- P<sub>II</sub> C -CS- --CS

'what, do you want us to have troubles, we your elders?'  
 These examples also bring out the fact that groups at a single place in structure (e.g. two groups in apposition at C, as in the first example, at CS in the second) need not be contiguous. Indeed, as will be seen later, even groups may be split up. (See page 134 ).

### Position of the highest point.

In fact in a number of examples already quoted, the highest point coincided with the tonic, e.g. (highest point marked +):

uliniona | mpumbavu <sup>+ \ sana > mimi,  
P C A C

'you thought me a great fool,'

and:

walifika | <sup>+ \</sup> tena | waizi, 'the thieves came again,'  
P A S

Another example, where the cotext helps to make the meaning clear, is:

Tulikuwa na | shida || sasa | shida | <sup>+ \</sup> hatuna.  
P C A C P

'We used to feel want, now we have no lack.'

It is difficult to convey the exact meaning of the second clause here, but the placing of the item at C before that at P brings it into prominence, but at the same time the high point and the tonic on the item at P makes it both contrastive (with the item at P in the first clause) and stressed, although not unduly, since this is the neutral place for the tonic. Perhaps the gloss should read something like: 'We used to have troubles, now as for troubles, we haven't any.' The position of the highest point seems to be infinitely variable and can come on any syllable; it is not restricted to polysyllabic words, nor to the stressed syllables of such words, although on the whole it does usually occur on such syllables.

#### Number of tone-groups.

Although this section is to deal mainly with clauses which have more than one tone-group, one might mention first a case where a whole clause is not only less than one

tone-group, but has the low, level intonation which follows the tonic. This is a case where the  $\alpha$  clause follows a  $\beta''$  (reporting) clause, which is not the neutral situation. The clause itself has a non-neutral sequence of elements of structure, but I think the 'reason' for the intonation pattern is the sequence of the clauses in the sentence, not that of the groups in the clause.

|| Ah, ndugu yangu: taabu gani hii! || anamwambia mkewe yule  
 $\beta''$  ( P | C |  
 bibi kizee. ||  
 S ) ||

'Oh sister, what a life! said the old hag to the wife. In this sentence there are in fact two tone-groups, the end of the first marked by a vertical dotted line; the salient point being that the second tone-group extends over the second part of the first clause and the whole of the second clause.

Multiple tone-groups to a clause seem sometimes to be connected with items at A. For example, 'vocative' items (such as mentioned earlier), in addition to not taking a tonic themselves, frequently follow a tonic, so that if they come in the midst of a clause, they are associated with the end of a tone-group, e.g.:

Kwa nini | bwana: | huendi | kwenye kuni?  
 A A P C

'Why, sir, don't you go after firewood?'

A similar effect is noted when the pronoun subject follows the item at P. As noted earlier (page 107), such subjects tend not to have the tonic, but rather to follow it. e.g.:

Utaniponzèa | wewe : | nà babako.  
           P           S           A

'You'll get me into trouble with your father.'

Another circumstance which is associated with multiple tone-groups to a clause is when there is a demonstrative pronoun in apposition to the subject. This pronoun, ~~as has been shown (page )~~, frequently comes finally in the clause and does not have the tonic. In these circumstances the first group at S tends to have a separate tone-group. e.g.:

huyo maskīni : < ni | mzuri | ndipo > huyu,  
           S----- P           C           A           --S

'that poor man, he's a fine one, he is,'

huyu punda wetū : < amekuja | na pèsa > huyu,  
           S----- P           A           --S

'that donkey of ours, brought money, he has,'

'The first tone-group in each case is the 'Non-final' type, but this is irrelevant to the general point.) I think in fact that this is a means of marking the S, analogous to the shift of position that is possible for all other items to give them prominence; i.e. as we have shown, a shift from a neutral, non-initial position for element P, C and A to the initial position gives them prominence. The neutral position for S, however, is already initial, so

that it cannot be given prominence in this way. The use of a separate tone-group gives prominence in a different manner. Perhaps the inclusion later of a demonstrative pronoun serves to hold together a clause which has been split by this cutting off of the subject, or it may be a means of further emphasizing the subject.

In a rather similar fashion, if an item at S comes non-initially in a clause in order to give prominence to some other item, the S could as it were regain prominence by initiating another tone-group, e.g.:

wakatazama | nyuma : | wote | kwa umoja,  
P C S A  
'they looked back, all together,'

It was said earlier that when items at C precede P, there is normally an object prefix present in the verbal item. However, extra prominence may be given to the item at C by its association with a separate tone-group, and in this case there is usually no object prefix present in the verb, e.g.:

pesa hi<sup>-</sup>zi : | tumepata! 'we've got this money!'  
C P

When groups in apposition (at S, C or A) are contiguous, they usually have separate tone-groups, but the class of the second tone-group is the same as the first, e.g. (nominal groups in apposition marked n=, =n):

[illegible]

'So quickly those people, the medical orderlies, seeing that they can't put me down there near that other person, took me in to bed and got me ready there.'

It will be noticed that in the case of the third and fourth tone-groups above, the tonic in the third is not on the group which is in apposition, but nevertheless the following appositional group has the same type of tonic. The final pale also in apposition, follows the tonic of its tone-group in the manner described earlier (page 108).

It seems also that when items at A occur in non-neutral positions, they tend to be associated with non-neutral intonation. It has been pointed out (page 101) that when such items as neutrally occur in the initial position (e.g. lakini) occur finally, they do not take the tonic. Those which neutrally occur final, if they come in another position, are frequently associated with another tone-group, e.g.:

Mume wangu     ∴ | punda    | leo       ∴ | amekuja   | na vyakula   ∴ | kila anja.

A                  S                  A                  P                  A

'Husband, today the donkey has brought food, all sorts.'

Here the item leo 'today' is front-shifted (see page 101 ) and has the tonic of a separate tone-group. The other tone-groups in the clause have already been discussed: the first on a 'vocative' item; the last on an item in contiguous apposition.

Finally, it seems that not only cān groups in apposition be separated from each other, but also that a group can be split into its component parts. Group structure has not yet been discussed, but let me say that the group shida ya kuni 'shortage of firewood' consists of two elements, head (h) and qualifier (q). In the following example these elements are separated by two elements of clause structure, but the qualifier, which comes last in the clause, has a separate tone-group.

||| Nasikia || kuna | shida < sana | mjini > : ya kuni. |||  
                   P           C---           A           A           --C  
                               h---                                       --q

'I hear there is a great shortage of firewood in the town.'

Examples follow which show, in combination with non-neutral sequence of grammatical elements of clause structure, combinations of non-neutral intonation patterns; more than one tone-group; tonic non-final; highest point non-initial. These features are only symbolized when they are non-neutral, i.e. if a single tone-group coincides with a single clause or with a clause (or sentence) boundary, no tone-group division will be shown; if the tonic is on

the penultimate syllable of the last polysyllable, it will not be shown; if the highest point is on the penultimate syllable of the first polysyllable, it will not be shown. Tone-groups are separated by a dotted vertical line; tonics are shown by ` or - - ; highest points are shown by + .

|| chakula : | anakula | pale pale, ||  
C P A

'food, he eats right there,'

(Note no object prefix in the verb.)

||| Chakula : | kitu gani : | apelekewe | pale pale | kitandani. |||  
C-- --C P A A

'Food, everything, he has sent to him right there in bed.'

||| Huyu mtu : | labda | ana | pesa | sana! |||  
S A P C A

'Maybe this man has lots of money!'

||| Akaja | mbio | mpaka pale : | na farasi. |||  
P A A A

'She came quickly there, on horseback.'

|| bila shaka : | woga | bado | mwingi, ||  
A S A C

'no doubt, there's still a lot of cowardice,'

|| kwa hiyo | upesi | pale : | manesi | wakanichukua | kwa  
A A A S P

haraka, ||  
A

'so quickly there and then the nurses took me hurriedly,'

|| hashughuliki | yule bwana : | na zile pesa, ||  
P S A

'that fellow takes no interest in the money,'



|| Pengine | waweza | <sup>+\</sup>kufa | wewe || naweza | kufa | <sup>+</sup>mimi. |||  
           A           P<sub>I</sub>           P<sub>II</sub>           S           P<sub>I</sub>           P<sub>II</sub>           S

'Perhaps you might die, or I might die.'

|| huyu mtū | huyu : | ana | <sup>+\</sup>mapesa | huyu, ||  
           S---           -S-           P           C           -S

'this fellow here, he's rich, he is,'

|| Baharī | bwana : | haina | mwisho. |||  
           S           A           P           C

'The sea, mate, has no end.'

|| Hapō | bwana : | sijakuunga | mkono. |||  
           A           A           P           C<sub>2</sub>

'There, mate, I can't agree with you.'

### Contextual meanings of certain clause classes.

It has already been mentioned that clauses of the class Declarative may have the contextual meaning of 'question' in certain circumstances. Such clauses are probably distinguished by intonation, although the actual patterns may differ from one individual to another. (See p 57.) Although these are the clauses which most frequently have this meaning, in fact any clause standing alone may have the contextual meaning of question, i.e. it may function in its extra-linguistic context to convey a question although it does not itself have the structure of an Interrogative clause, e.g.:

kuhusu kwenda safari? 'about going on a journey?'

In particular, clauses where the verbal item is in the -e form, tend to be used as polite questions, e.g.:

nilete chai sasa? 'shall I bring the tea now?'

Such contextual questions may be followed by a clause whose function is that of a tag to the preceding item, e.g.:  
siyo (au siyo, ama siuyo ...) - meaning in isolation

'it is not so', but in this context 'isn't it', etc. e.g.:

||| Anaweza kulala hapa ||| siyo? ||| 'He can sleep here, can't he?'

The effect of this is not only to make clear that this is not a statement, but also to require a response, and further to make clear that the question is more or less rhetorical, so that the response required is ndiyo 'it is so', 'yes'. Such tags normally have a separate tone-group but of the same type as that of the preceding clause.

Clauses where the verb is in the -e form have other contextual meanings.

1. Command, in the positive to other than second persons, where there is an object prefix, and in the negative to all persons, e.g.:

twende, 'let's go,'

afike kesho, 'let him come tomorrow,'

(The meaning of the last example is not 'allow him ...', which would be mwache afike kesho.)

usimwunge mkono, 'don't take his side,'

usininyoe bila ya maji, bwana, 'don't give me a dry  
shave, sir,'

i.e. don't take me up unnecessarily.

2. Contextual meaning of hypothesis, e.g.:

tufanye, 'let us say,'

na halafu nikubalie, 'and then I would agree,'

na safari iwe saa kumi na mbili na nusu,

'and the journey were to be at half past six,'

nikae mpaka saa kumi na mbili na nusu, nizidishe nusu saa  
nzima kwa kusubiri,

'I would/should/could wait until half past six, I might  
further wait a whole half-hour,'

Another clause type with a somewhat similar contextual  
meaning is that with the verbal form -nge-. Such clauses  
may occur in isolation, and have the contextual meaning  
of a suggestion, e.g.:

ungerudisha gari, 'you could/should put the car away,'  
(said by houseboy after cleaning the car.)

ningependa chai, 'I would like some tea,'

(This latter form is heard a lot in restaurants, and has  
been said to be a translation form from English. Whether  
it is or not, it is used and therefore has to be described.)

Items functioning at the different elements of clause structure.

In general, it is groups that function at elements  
of clause structure. The classes of groups are as follows:  
nominal; verbal (with sub-class copular); adverbial.  
Apart from groups, there is the possibility of rank-shifted  
items occurring at certain places in clause structure.

At the elements S and C can function nominal groups, some verbal groups, and rank-shifted items.

At A can function nominal groups, some verbal groups, adverbial groups, and rank-shifted items.

At P can function verbal groups only.

At R can function nominal groups only.

New material recently produced during Professor W.H. Whiteley's investigations into transitivity suggests that it may be desirable to recognise a second subject ( $S_2$ ). One cannot yet comment on this material, however, as it is not yet published.

### Chapter 3. Group structure.

#### Nominal groups.

Nominal groups function at S, C, A and R. Two systems operate within nominal groups: a) concord (which subsumes number), and b) marking. Concord is shown by a system of prefixes listed in the morphology of the language, traditionally perhaps better indicated by the numbers 1-15. Although these numbers have usually be taken to designate the 'class' of nouns, they could usefully be used for the whole group, since each term in the concord system has more than one allomorph whose shape is conditioned partly by the class of the item to which they are attached (e.g. noun, verb, adjective, demonstrative ...); partly by phonetic criteria such as whether the item has one or more syllables, begins with a vowel or a consonant, and so on; and partly on historical grounds. Morphophonemic rules can be set up for the production of these allomorphs, and although particular items behave anomalously within the system, these can all be listed. In some cases, however, there is a choice of concord, especially as between 'animate' and 'non-animate'; and in this case the systemic choice reflects/affects the emotional attitude of the participants. When such a choice is made, it may affect only one item (the head) of a group, as in:

yule bi-kizee      'that old hag'

or it may affect the whole group, as in:

vitoto vile vyote 'all those young limbs of Satan'<sup>1</sup>

- and may even extend to the verbal prefix.

It has often been noted that attitude to size may also give rise to choice, particularly as between classes 5/6 and others, and also as between 7/8 and others. It is not known what influence the extent to which such systemic choice permeates the group and extends to the verb. It would of course be possible to describe this system as pertaining to groups at S plus P and groups at C plus P, but this would be cumbersome because of the overlap in P, and would leave out groups at A and R. It seems therefore most economical to describe it at individual nominal group level.

Marking is shown by word-order and/or by stress.

Stress in this case seems to consist of high pitch plus vowel lengthening, e.g.:

— . — . . — . \ .  
nyumba yake nzu:ri kubwa 'his marvellous big house'

Further investigation is needed to show whether this type of stress-patterning and word order are directly connected

1. I have a letter taken from a newspaper in which the writer was complaining about the lack of educational opportunity for children who have completed their primary education but have not gained entry to secondary schools. Throughout the letter he refers alternately to those who fail and those who succeed, the failures always with the prefix vi-, and the successes with wa-.

or whether they are separate parameters. I incline to think that the stress patterning functions over the tone-group as described in the previous chapter, but it may well correlate with marked word-order, as in the above example, as well as with marked group-order as in examples in the previous chapter.

The nominal group consists of three elements of structure: deictic (d); head (h); and qualifier (q). This sequence is fixed, although as will be seen, there can be variations of sequence of sub-classes of items at q. The element d cannot alone constitute an element of clause structure, i.e. cannot stand alone without another element of group structure, namely h. In any case, an element by definition can only be named in relation to another, so that a group which consisted of a single word would have no structure qua group. The element d need not be present. If the group has two elements of structure, one of them will be h, and the structure will be either dh or hq. The structure \*dq does not exist, because any item which can be at q can also be at h. (The converse, that every item which can be at h can also be at q is not true; if it were, one could only distinguish them by sequence.) In other words q, in fact, is only defined in relation to h. The structure of the nominal group might be formalised as (d+) h (+q); the plus signs indicating that if d then h, and if q then h.

At d.

There are two elements d:  $d_1$  and  $d_2$ . The items which occur at these places in structure are very restricted.

At  $d_1$  there are 'demonstratives': -le; h-; h-o.

(e.g. yule; huyu; huyo.) There is a finite number of

these items, and only one may be chosen. At  $d_2$  I would

like to consider the items kila and kina. Kila is a

curious item which in isolation has the meaning 'whoever,

whatever, however, wherever, whenever', but in a nominal

group has the meaning 'each, every'. Even so, one might

wish to regard it as a kind of adjunct, except that for

one thing, when it has the latter meaning, it functions

in complementary distribution with  $d_1$  in the nominal group.

Why not then class it with them as another demonstrative?

Because in another sense it is also in complimentary

distribution with kina, which is not itself in complimentary

distribution with demonstratives, i.e. one can have:

wale kina mama 'them there women'

Kina is also curious in that it is a bound word, i.e.

it cannot occur without some following nominal item. In

fact it is perhaps best regarded as a marker of plurality.

The function of kila and kina within the nominal group

seems to be to indicate respectively singularity and

plurality, or perhaps individuality vs. collectivity. In

this they mark number, and from this point of view may be



said to fit in partly with the concord system in the nominal group, showing number but not 'class'. ('Class' here meaning 'noun class' - 1-15.) In fact within the nominal group there is variation in the overtness of agreement shown. Some items show full agreement, some part, some none. Returning to the items at d, however, it would be possible to make alternative groupings of them, but as they are so few and the restrictions on their occurrence so simple, it does not seem to matter much how they are arranged. The arrangement as set out above, into  $d_1$  and  $d_2$ , corresponds quite nicely with their order of appearance in the group, and also with their morphological structure<sup>1</sup>, so it seems as good as any.

At h.

Any class of item which can occur at q can also occur at h, with the proviso that it is not usual for rank-shifted

1. One of the possible arrangements would be to group together plural -le, h- and h-o ( $d_1$ ); kila with singular -le, h- and h-o ( $d_2$ ); and kina separately ( $d_3$ ). d, can function alone or with  $d_3$ ;  $d_2$  can only function alone;  $d_3$  can function alone or with  $d_1$ . This description is quite adequate; in order to choose between it and the one adopted, other criteria have to be invoked. Two points emerge: since this analysis requires three primary distinctions whereas the other requires only two it is thus less economical; also this analysis groups together inflected items with a non-inflected one whereas the other groups inflected and non-inflected separately. Although morphology and grammar rarely match, when it is possible to make them do so, all other things being equal, it gives a more elegant appearance to the analysis.

items to occur at h since their tendency is to appear last in the group (unless they are the only item present).

However, a group such as:

† yule wa kwanza wangu      'that first one of mine'  
could occur.

In addition to classes of item which can occur at q, there are also some classes of items which can only occur at h. Such are:

1. 'short series nominals' (e.g. waume 'men').
2. Any other classes of item, such as conjunctions, which normally function at A, and do not function at q, e.g.

walakini      'but':

tuna		walakini	zetu	'we have our reservations'
		h	q	

3. Compound nominals. These consist of two juxtaposed nouns, of which the second in some sense perhaps modifies the first, although not necessarily, since the meaning of the compound may be different from the meaning of the sum of its parts. e.g.:

mwana siasa      'Politician'      ('child' 'politics')

mchanjaji kuni      'woodcutter'

mwaka jana      'last year'      ('year' 'yesterday')

mama Roza      'Rose's mother'

mbwa mwitu      'jackal'      ('dog' 'forest')

These compound nominals do not show concord between themselves, as would be the case if the second noun were

functioning at q. Concord in the group is shown only with the first item in the compound, e.g.:

wale mabwana mganga 'the doctors'  
 $\begin{matrix} d_1 & h & \bar{h} \end{matrix}$

wana mbuzi wawili 'two kids'  
 $\begin{matrix} h & \bar{h} & q \end{matrix}$

The second item in a compound nominal (at h) is marked  $\bar{h}$ .

4. Pronouns. These are not often modified (by items at d or q), but they may be.

5. Proper names. These also are rarely modified.

6. Interrogatives nani and nini, ('who'; 'what'). I think these also should be included here, although again they are hardly capable of modification. Note, however, a common hesitation form:

- ile nani hii - 'the whatsit'  
 $\begin{matrix} d_1 & h & q \end{matrix}$

This form is probably not comparable, however, since the items at d, and q are not in class 1/2 agreement, whereas nani normally does take such agreements in the verb.

The item peke is an example of a bound word at h, requiring always a qualifying possessive. Its status as h requires expressions such as:

mtoto | peke yake 'the child alone'  
 $\begin{matrix} & h & q \end{matrix}$

to be analysed as two groups in apposition; the alternative being to regard yake as a sub-qualifier. I would prefer the first analysis as it gives a clearer contrast with

mtoto mwenyewe 'the child himself'  
 $\begin{matrix} h & q \end{matrix}$

At q.

Here there are several sub-classes of items whose sequence can be varied to give shifts of emphasis. Neutral sequence seems to be as follows:

1. possessive (qp) (e.g. wangu 'my')
2. epithet (qe) (e.g. any long series nominal; any indeclinable adjective such as wazi 'bare')
3. demonstrative (qd) (e.g. huyu 'this')
4. numeral (qn) (e.g. mmoja 'one'; wote 'all' .. see below p.128).

Taking each in turn, a little more may be said about the items that function at each element of structure.

At qp is a closed system<sup>1</sup>, consisting of the possessives -angu, -ako, -ake, -etu, -enu, -ao. ('my, your (sing.), his/her/its, our, your (pl.), their'.)

At qe is an open set<sup>2</sup> consisting of 'long series nominals' and a number of indeclinable adjectives. At qe, more than one choice may be made, and when this happens it seems likely that the final adjective is being given prominence, e.g.:

1. A closed system has a finite number of items such that the deletion or addition of one would change the range of meaning of one or more of the others. Only one item from a closed system may function at a particular place in structure.
2. An open set is an infinite number of items such that the deletion or addition of one would make no difference to the meaning of the other. Generally, more than one item from an open set may function at a particular place in structure.

†gauni jekundu jipya 'a new-red dress'

†gauni jipya jekundu 'a new red dress'

But one has to reckon with several factors here. One is the paucity of spontaneous examples. Another is the fact that the tonic would fall on the final word in such a group, giving its own prominence. It is clear that a non-final adjective can be stressed, as in the example on page 121. There is room for more investigation here.

At qd is a closed system consisting of the three demonstratives (as at d<sub>1</sub>). There is a distinction here between the item at qd and the item at d<sub>1</sub>, not only of position but also of meaning, in that the items at qd indicate rather physical place (in the case of -le and h-) and specific reference (in the case of h-o). Items at d<sub>1</sub> indicate definiteness, and the distinction between the three is rather blurred.

At qn is an open set consisting of numerals plus items such as kidogo 'a little', -chache 'few', kadhaa 'several', -ingi 'many', -ingine 'other', -enyewe '-self, -selves', -ote 'all', -o -ote 'any at all', and possible others. There is also a sub-class of interrogative items forming a closed system: -pi? 'which?' -ngapi? 'how many?', gani 'what sort?'. At qn there may be more than one choice, though there are restrictions on possibilities of co-occurrence, and special meanings

in some cases. More than one number can occur with meanings as suggested:

watoto wawili watatu 'two or three children' 'a few'

saa mbili tatu 'eight to nine o'clock' 'between eight and  
nine'

Numbers may be followed by any of the other items, subject to semantic restrictions only. They may be preceded by any except the interrogatives. If, however, -ote precedes a number, it (-ote) functions as a sub-modifier (see p. 134):

watoto wote wawili 'both children'

watoto wote watatu 'all three children' etc.

The sub-class of interrogative items always comes last in the group, and may be preceded by any other item at n, subject only to semantic restrictions.

Any rank-shifted items tend to come last, notwithstanding their meaning correlation with any of the above classes, e.g. wa Hamisi 'Hamisi's', c.f. possessive; wa kiume 'male', c.f. epithet. Where more than one rank-shifted item occurs, semantic criteria usually seem to govern the sequence, e.g.:

mguu [ wa mbele ] [ wa ng'ombe ] 'the cow's front leg'

c.f. mguu [ wa ng'ombe [ wa mbele ] ] 'the front cow's leg'

or mguu [ wa ng'ombe ] [ wa mbele ] 'the cow's front leg'

i.e. the second sequence is ambiguous, while the first is not.

In the last case, however, there would most likely be two

tone-groups, (see ch. 2, page 105 ), so that one would be inclined to analyse the utterance as two groups in apposition:

mguu [ wa ng'ombe ] [ wa mbele ]

'the cow's leg - the front one'

When both rank-shifted groups and clauses occur, the group generally precedes the clause, e.g.:

mtoto [ wa kiume ] [[ aliyefika jana ]]

'the lad who came yesterday'

A frequent item at q is a relative verb, e.g.:

mwezi uliopita 'last month'

Such verbs, like rank-shifted items, tend to come last in a group; but apart from this behavioural similarity, there seems no reason for rank-shifting them, since they consist in any case of a single word. (There might be an argument for it on grounds of morphology.) Where necessary, such items are symbolised qv.

#### Sequence of items in nominal groups.

It is not easy to find spontaneous examples of long nominal groups consisting of single items (though there are plenty with rank-shift). It has been pointed out earlier (page 122) that the sequence dh is fixed. An example is given of each sub-class at d:

yule mwenzangu 'my companion'  
d<sub>1</sub> h

kila kitu        'everything'  
     d<sub>2</sub>     h

The full range of possibilities of neutral sequence with one and two items at q are exemplified as follows:

maoni yangu        'my impression'  
     h            qp

migongo wazi        'bare-chested'  
     h            qe

wakati huo        'that time'  
     h            qd

saa ngapi        'what time'  
     h            qn

kanzu lake chafuchafu        'his filthy gown'  
     h            qp            qe

barua yangu hii        'this letter of mine'  
     h            qp            qd

binti wake sita        'his six daughters'  
     h            qp            qn

siku nzima ile        'that whole day'  
     h            qe            qd

bibi kikongwe mmoja        'a certain old crone'  
     h            qe            qn

saa zile zote        'all that time'  
     h            qd            qn

It may be that some sort of stop-rule (i.e. some grammatical or phonological feature as yet undiscovered which limits the permitted length of a unit) operates on nominal groups, perhaps to do with stress-groups, but this is only a hazard and more work should be done here. At any rate, the fact is that groups do not seem to occur



with more than two, or at most three, simple items at q, and although informants do not reject longer groups, they do not seem to produce them spontaneously themselves.

Sequence: qp.

Informants do not seem to use any other than the neutral sequence of qp. While not rejecting examples suggested, they do not spontaneously produce them. In view of this fact, I think the position of qp should be regarded as relatively fixed.

Sequence: qe: qd: qn.

It has been suggested that where there are two items at qe, the second is being given prominence, (page 128). Combinations of items at qn have also been dealt with - here the restrictions are mainly semantic, (page 129). Spontaneous examples of non-neutral sequence as between items at qe, qd and qn are not particularly frequent. When they do occur, however, it seems to be the case that prominence is being given to the final item. e.g.:

watoto	hawa	wakubwa	'these <u>big</u> children'
h	qd	qe	
saa mbili	nzima		'two <u>whole</u> hours'
h	qn	qe	
sehemu	yote	hii	'all <u>this</u> part' (accompanied by gesture to sore throat)
h	qn	qd	

Sequence: qv, and rank-shifted items.

As has already been stated, (page 130), qv normally follows other, non-rankshifted items at q, e.g.:

yale	maneno	yangu	ninayokuambia	'what I'm telling you'
d <sub>1</sub>	h	qp	qv	

Probably this position is fixed with regard to simple items, but it may not be with regard to rank-shifted groups - see below.

Rank-shifted items usually follow other items at q. Some examples follow. ( [ ] indicates rank-shifted group; [[ ]] indicates rank-shifted clause; q↓ indicates rank-shifted qualifier.)

ile kidne-dishi [ ya kutemea mate ]  
d<sub>1</sub> h q↓

'the kidney dish for spitting into'

huyu mama [[ ambaye anatakiwa kufanyiwa operesheni ]]  
d<sub>1</sub> h q↓

'the lady who is to have the operation'

mambo yake [ ya kipuuzipuuzi ]  
h qp q↓

'his silly monkey-tricks'

njia zako [[ ninazozifikiria mimi katika akili yangu ]]  
h qp q↓

'your ways as they strike me'

sehemu hii [ ya juu ]  
h qd q↓

'this upper part here'

It is however possible for rank-shifted groups, at least to precede other items at q, e.g.:

siri [ ya nyumbani ] nyote 'the whole family secret'  
h q↓ qn

Here again, the final item has prominence.

It seems, then, that the structure of the nominal group might be more fully symbolised as:

$$\xrightarrow{\quad} d_1 \ d_2 \ h \ \bar{h} \ q\bar{p} \ qe \ qd \ qn \ qv \ q$$

the arrow indicating fixed sequence.

It should be noted also that the elements h and q need not be contiguous. They could be separated by different elements of clause structure, as in the following example. (Elements of clause structure shown by capital letters; elements of group structure by lower case letters.)

maji	{	yapo		hapa	}	yanayochemka	'boiling water is here'
S---		P		A		-----S	
h---						-----qv	

I would think it unlikely, though, that items other than at qv and q could be so separated from h (demonstratives, as on page || being a special case of apposition).

#### Other classes of items within the nominal group.

There is a small class of items that can occur as sub-modifiers (sm) within the nominal group. Their function is to modify existing qualifiers (though not those at qp or qd), for example:

dawa	kali	kidogo	'rather strong medicine'
h	qe	sm	
vyakula	vingi	sana	'very many different kinds of food'
h	qn	sm	
mtoto	mzuri	kabisa	'an extremely handsome youth'
h	qe	sm	
vitu	[ vya baridi ]	tu	'only cold things'
H	q	sm	

Such items are very versatile, and can also function as qualifiers themselves, e.g.:

taabu	kidogo	'a fair amount of trouble'
h	q	

mpendaji usingizi sana 'a great sleepy-head'  
           h           h           q

madhumuni kabisa [ ya kwenda ] 'a firm intention of going'  
           h           q           q↓

taabu tu 'nothing but trouble'  
           h           q

It is perhaps significant that in either case, they follow immediately the items they qualify. When they qualify items at h, it is not easy to fit them into existing sub-classes of qualifier. Moreover, they can also function at A in clause structure, e.g.:

|| kwa hiyo | kidogo | nikaona | wasiwasi, ||  
           A           A           P           C

'so I felt nervous to some extent,'

|| akawagombesha | sana | wale manesi, ||  
           P           A           C

'she told the nurses off properly,'

|| anatetemeka | kabisa, ||  
           P           A

'he trembles all over,'

|| 'nipe | tu | bwana ||  
           P           A           A

'just give it me, sir,'

Finally, it was stated that they do not modify qualifiers at qp or qd. Some could, however, follow such items, e.g.:

<sup>t</sup>dawa yake kidogo 'a little of his medicine'  
           h           qp           qn

when there is no problem of assignment. When in their somewhat adverbial-like function they qualify at item at h, however, I would prefer to regard them as a distinct sub-class, qa.

There is another set of items that function in a similar manner, but precede the item at h, such as:

kama saa mbili 'about eight o'clock'

sm h qn

karibu watu kumi 'something like ten people'

sm h qn

labda pauni tatu 'about three pounds'

sm h qn

kwenye saa kumi 'about two o'clock'

sm h qn

Where such items do not modify an item at q, but modify the item at h directly, I think they must be treated as a kind of deictic. Many of them can also function at A in clause structure, and on analogy with items in the preceding section, I would like to call these items da when they modify an item at h. They may, incidentally, also sub-modify items at  $d_2$ , e.g.:

karibu kila mmoja 'almost every person'

sm  $d_2$  h

But not items at  $d_1$ , although they may precede such items, e.g.:

labda zile pesa zote 'more or less all the money'

da  $d_1$  h qn

Another class of item that functions within the nominal group is that of linker. When there is a rather large number of qualifiers, particularly of class qe, and also rank-shifted, these items are frequently linked, sometimes by na, more often by tena, e.g.:

chai gani [[ isiwe na sukari ]] tena baridi!  
 h      qn                      qv                      l                      qe

'what tea, without sugar and cold too!'

One could also include here linkers such as au and ama, but there is no need to, as these could be regarded as linking separate groups. (See below.)

To the structure of the nominal group may be added, then; da (adverbial deictic), qa (adverbial qualifier), sm (sub-modifier), and l (linker). Owing to the special restrictions on their occurrence with respect to other elements, they cannot be assigned a definite position in a linear representation of the structure of the nominal group, although they must be included in an inventory of the elements. The full inventory is thus:

$d_1, d_2, h, \bar{h}, qp, qe, qd, qn, qv, q$  plus da, qa, sm, l.

There may be more than one nominal group at any of the elements S, C, A and possibly R, of clause structure. The relation between the groups is of two types: apposition; linkage. Examples follow of groups in apposition (nominal groups in apposition marked n= =n):

At S:

	<sup>TM</sup> Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere	S	Rais wa Tanzania		alifika		jana.	
					P		A	
	n=		=n					

'Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanzania, arrived yesterday.'

At C:

Nilipoamka tu	nilijikuta	niko	kitandani kwangu pale.
	P <sub>I</sub>	P <sub>II</sub>	C
			n=                      =n

'When I came to I found myself there in my own bed.'

At A:

na	nilifanyiwa	kwenye saa nane na nusu hivi,
A	P	A
		n=                      =n

'and I was done about half past two, thereabouts,'

Nominal groups may be linked by means of linking items, which are treated as part of the structure of the group they precede (see Appendix 2 on linkage). For example:

Huoni	kama	watatokea	wanne au sita au watatu	....
	A	P	n       &n                                             &n	

'You won't find that there will turn out to be four or six or three (people) ....'

(Linked nominal groups are marked &n.)

Verbal groups.

Verbal groups function mainly at P, but also at S, C and A in clause structure. They may be either simple or compound.

Simple verbal groups consist of a single verbal item, e.g.:

wameshughulika?                      'were they busy?'

wanajihatari                      'they put themselves in danger'

hukujua                      'you did not know'

kumeza                      'to swallow'

Compound groups consist of two finite forms, of which the first is an auxiliary, -w-, and the second is restricted to the three tenses -na-, -li-, and -ta-. There are also restrictions as regards the negative. These are fully set out in Ashton (op.cit.). (Though see below -isha-.)

2. An auxiliary, as above, plus a copula. For example:

hapo		ningekuwa ni		mrongo,	'then I would be a liar,'
A		P		C	
		x	m		

(x stands for 'auxiliary', m for 'main' element of structure.)

3. An auxiliary, -ish- or -j-, without object prefix; plus a verbal stem, with or without object prefix, e.g.:

ungelikuja	nikuta	'if you had happened to meet me'
x	m	

na		wewe		jambo lilo		umekwisha lidhamiria,
						x m

'and you have already decided on that,

umekwisha	timiza		mihadi yenu,
x	m		

'you have already carried out your mutual promise,'

In fact such forms, considered diachronically, may be on the way to becoming simple verbs with new 'tense' infixes, as in the following item at m:

nilikuwa	nimeshaamka	'I had already woken up'
x	m	

4. The auxiliary -w-, plus the item na, e.g.:

nilikuwa	na		wasiwasi,	'I was nervous,'
x	m			

Compound verbal groups, then, have the structure xm.

x always precedes m.



The systems which operate within the verbal group are as follows:

1. Complexity. The verbal group may be either simple or compound, as outlined above.
2. Finiteness. The verbal group may be either finite or non-finite. For this purpose, the term 'non-finite' covers verbal forms ku- and -e. 'Finite' covers all the rest. The choice is operative for simple groups and at x in compound groups.
3. Agreement. This subsumes 'class' (1-15), person (1-3), and number (singular/plural). It operates over finite forms (except hu-) and -e forms. There is simultaneous choice of subject agreement and object agreement, though subject agreement is not operative for stems. In compound groups, subject agreement operates at x; subject and/or object agreement at m (see page 139 ).
4. Polarity. Verbal groups may be either positive or negative. Polarity operates for finite and non-finite forms, but not for stems, (i.e. verb forms ending in suffixes -a, -e, -i, -u; but with no prefix).
5. Relativity. Verbal groups may be relative or non-relative. This system operates over finite forms, excluding stems; in simple groups and at x in compound groups.
6. Tense. This may be simple or compound, according to the choice at Complexity. If simple, the terms are

-li-, -ta-, -me- .... If compound, the terms are as for simple (at x), plus -li-, -ta-, -na- (at m), and perhaps one might add -mesha- at m and for simple, though not at x. (See p 139.)

7. Extension. Groups may be basic ('simple') or extended. As this system functions over simple groups and at m in compound groups, it could be regarded as a system at word level (lexical verb).

All the foregoing systems operate simultaneously within the verbal group. <sup>There are, however, restrictions on certain co-occurrences.</sup> For example it is not possible to choose the term relative from the system Relativity and the term -me- from the system Tense simultaneously. Similarly, it is not possible to choose simultaneously the term negative from the system Polarity and the term -li- from the system Tense. Many of these restrictions have already been described or at least implied in Ashton (op.cit.) though not systematically, and Professor Whiteley is at the moment investigating restrictions with extensions.

There are also certain morpho-phonemic changes which take place when certain simultaneous choices are made, for example the term relative plus the term -~~pa~~- (Tense) produce the form Ø (zero) tense affix, and the relative affix is final, whereas in all other cases it follows the tense affix. Such changes are also described in Ashton.

As has been described earlier, (page 76ff), there may be more than one P in a clause, the relation between the two items being that of 'phase'. The items at P<sub>II</sub>, P<sub>III</sub> .... are always non-finite (i.e. in the ku- or -e forms), if they are verbs. There are no restrictions on the form of the item at P<sub>I</sub>. e.g.:

ukaweza		kuchukua		mwendo wa saa mbili mzima,
P <sub>I</sub>		P <sub>II</sub>		

'and you may take two whole hours on foot,'

Jaribu		kumwuliza		mwenyewe,
P <sub>I</sub>		P <sub>II</sub>		

'Try and ask her yourself,'

saa fulani		mimi		nategemea		niwe		mahali fulani,
				P <sub>I</sub>		P <sub>II</sub>		

'at a certain time I intend to be at a certain place,'

Copulas may also occur at P<sub>II</sub> ....., but they cannot show a distinction between finite and non-finite, e.g.:

nilipoamka		nilijikuta		niko		kitandani kwangu,
		P <sub>I</sub>		P <sub>II</sub>		

'when I came to I found myself in my bed,'

lakini		kumbe		ulikuja nikuta		niko		kati ya kuja,
				P <sub>I</sub>		P <sub>II</sub>		

'but however you happened to meet me as I was on the way here,'

I should be noted that a distinction can be made in Swahili not only between single clauses with more than one P and sentences with clauses in  $\alpha\beta$ ..relationship, as pointed out earlier (page 76-77), but also between clauses with more than one P and those with PA, the A containing a ku- form. e.g.:

alikuwa anawasaidia | kuchukua | kuni,  
<sub>P<sub>I</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>II</sub></sub> <sub>C</sub>

'he used to help them carry the firewood,'

alikuwa anawasaidia | kwa [ kuchukua kuni ] ,  
<sub>P</sub> <sub>A</sub>

'he used to help them by carrying firewood,'

### Copulas.

There are a small number of items in sub-systems,  
 and can be listed as follows:

- a) ni, si.
- b) ndio, sio.
- c) ndi-, si-.
- d) ni, u, yu, tu, m, (wa).
- e) -na.
- f) -po, -ko, -mo.

Copulas differ as to the systems of the verbal group into which they enter. a) and b) can choose only for Polarity - in fact the terms as given show this choice. c) chooses for Polarity, and Relativity. d) chooses for person and number in 'class' 1/2, i.e. a restricted amount of Agreement. The items listed show these choices. The final item, wa, is in brackets because many informants reject it. e) chooses for Agreement and Polarity. f) chooses for Agreement and Polarity. Although copulas cannot realise other systems of the verbal group (such as Tense, Finiteness, etc.), they can function at m in compound verbal groups where such choices are made in the item at x. (See page 139.)

Adverbial groups.

Adverbial groups function mainly at A in clause structure. A few can also function at sm (sub-modifier) or qa (adverbial qualifier) in nominal group structure. Compound groups also occur rank-shifted within nominal groups, at q↓. Some can also function at S and C.

It is characteristic of the element of structure A that it is not in overt relationship with other elements of clause structure. In a somewhat parallel manner, it is characteristic of adverbial groups that simple (one-word) groups consist of items which do not normally fit into the 'class' system,<sup>1</sup> e.g. such items as lakini 'but', kumbe 'however', lo 'goodness!', sasa 'now', naam 'yes'. It is characteristic of compound groups that no system of concord, or of marking by sequence, operates. Even intonation variation is slight within the group itself - although, as has been shown, there may be variation involving the group as a whole in relation to other groups.

Compound adverbial groups (those consisting of more than one word) have two elements of structure: p (prepositional) and c (complement), e.g.:

mpaka kesho      'until tomorrow'  
p                  c

hata hivyo      'in spite of that'  
p                  c

(alipigwa) na baba      '(he was beaten) by his father'  
p                  c

1. Although in fact probably all such items could be forced into class 9/10 if required by their use at other elements of clause structure.

kwa kifupi      'in short'  
     p            c

At c in adverbial groups there functions a nominal group (as above), and e.g.:

mpaka [ siku ya pili ]      'until the next day'  
     p                      c↓

if the nominal group at c is compound, it must be rank-shifted. There may also be a rank-shifted clause at c, e.g.:

kwa [[ kusema kweli ]]      'to tell the truth'  
     p                      c↓

At p in adverbial groups there functions a set of items of different classes (e.g. noun: mpaka 'until'; verb: kutoka 'from'; linker: na 'by'; connector: kwa 'with'; adverb: hata 'even') and all of which (except perhaps kwa) can themselves function as simple items at A in clause structure. A list of such items follows, but it is not presumed to be exhaustive.

hata (hivyo)      'despite (this)'

kama (wewe)      'like (you)'

kama (kwamba)      'that'

kana      as kama

kuliko (mimi)      'than (me)'

kutoka (hapa)      'from (here)'

kwa (hiyo)      'therefore'

kwa (miguu)      'on (foot)'

mpaka (Pemba)      'as far as (Pemba)'

na (baba)      'by (father)'

tangu (zamani)      'since (a long time ago)'

hivi sasa 'just now', a fixed form, may also fit here.

-a 'of'

-enye 'with'

Nominal groups at A.

Something should perhaps be said about nominal groups at A. These have the same range of possible structures as those at S or C, but there are in addition certain interesting features. Many of the 'short series nominals' functioning at A show the concords of class 9/10, where necessary, and tend not to occur at S or C. Such items as kesho 'tomorrow', ndani 'inside' and other time and place words. Such concord is of course only manifested when the group is compound, e.g. kesho yake 'the next day'; ndani [ ya nyumba ] 'inside the house'. It should also be noted that a few items (karibu 'near', pamoja 'together' and sometimes mbali 'far') do not show concord, but form compound groups with a rank-shifted adverbial group having a linker at p, e.g.:

pamoja [ na [ watoto wetu ] ] 'together with our children'  
p c

that is, the structure of the above group is nominal, consisting of h (head) (pamoja), q (qualifier) (na watoto wetu). The qualifier consists of a rank-shifted adverbial group of the structure p (prepositional) (na), c (complement) (watoto wetu). The complement consists of a rank-shifted nominal group of the structure h (head) (watoto), q (qualifier) (wetu).

Another class of items that tends to occur at A rather than at S or C is 'short series nominals' showing class 7/8 prefixes. Such items as vizuri 'well', kirefu 'at length'<sup>1,2</sup>. This structure is very common in my texts.

The examples in the previous paragraph suggest another interesting characteristic of some items at A - reduplication. Of course this phenomenon occurs at other places in structure (e.g. in verb roots), but it does seem to occur more freely at A, e.g.:

juzi juzi	'recently'
papa hapa	'right here'
pale pale	'there and then'
kweli kweli	'thoroughly'
vivi hivi	'just like this'

In general there is only one adverbial group at any particular place in clause structure, but there are cases where there can be two, e.g.:

1. The distinction between 'long' and 'short series nominals' begins to get blurred here however, and in fact it is a morphological distinction not really suited for a description of this type, and the terms have only been used for reference where it seems useful. Distinctions at word level are not being made in this work, so that the use of terms such as 'verb', 'short series nominal' is only provisional - though this is not to say that the distinctions are meaningless and might not in some cases be seen to be appropriate from the viewpoints both of syntax and of morphology.
2. Such items also tend to occur in rank-shifted group qualifiers, even where the nominal in question does not normally enter into the concord system, e.g.  
kanzu [ la kisafisafi ] 'a sparkling clean gown'  
vyakula [ vya kishenzishenzi ] 'low class poor quality food'  
c.f.  
vilembe vile [ vya kifalme ] 'those royal turbans'



kutoka hapa mpaka Pemba	iko P	maili sabini na nane,
A	P	C

'from here to Pemba is seventy-eight miles,'

kwa kweli	tangu siku ile mpaka hapa	sikuelewa	ilikuwaje,
A	A	P	

'honestly, from that day to this I don't understand how it was,'

The relationship here seems to be some kind of dependence between the items at p, perhaps most like the relationship 'phase' between items at  $P_I:P_{II}$  .... (see page 75ff). On the other hand the items at c here are not like the items CS in the case of verbs in phase. All the same, the analogy is close enough for me to use the same word, but here I would regard the groups as a whole as being in phase relationship, though not manifested by any morphological signal - except in so far as the items themselves at p, which are very limited, signal themselves, as it were. The relationship will be symbolised, where necessary, as a: :a (a for 'adverbial group'). At group level, the relevant section of the above example would thus read:

....	tangu [ siku ile ]	mpaka hapa	....
	a:	:a	

Adverbial groups at q in nominal group structure.

Examples have already been given of simple adverbial groups functioning at sm or qa (page 134ff). It should be noted, perhaps, that when adverbial groups are rank-shifted within the nominal group, there is concord expressed in



2. Relative verbal forms. These do not occur at A.<sup>1</sup> They are frequently at q in moninal group structure, e.g.:

mwaka ujao 'next year'  
h qv

as already pointed out (page ), but by the same token they may be the sole item at S or C, e.g.:

walioondoka ni wengi, 'there were many who left,'  
S P C

huyu ndiye niliyemtaka, 'this is the man I wanted,'  
S P C

In the second place, where such items are found, since it is quite possible to regard them as constituting separate clauses, (and indeed the intonation pattern often suggests this, the items having a separate and often different type of tone-group from the rest) it seems preferable to do so, since one also thereby avoids further overloading A, at which function already a large number of sub-classes of items.

1. In fact it would be quite possible to regard relative verbs with -po-, -ko-, -mo-, -vyo-, which are not at S, C, or P, as being at A rather than as constituting clauses. There are two reasons for not doing this. In the first place, such occurrences are in fact rare. Where such relative verbs are found, there is generally some other item present, so that the choice is between a separate clause in sentence structure, and rank-shift within clause structure. e.g.:

|| Nilivyoambiwa | na watu wengine || walisema || kwamba ....  
P A

'According to what I was told by other people, they said (Here there are two clauses.) that ....'

hatukuwaona | kule | [ tulikofikizia sisi, ]  
P n= P S  
A =

'we did not see them there, where we got to,'  
(Here the clause is rank-shifted within A.)

In fact, from a practical point of view, it might be useful to classify items occurring at A according to their possibilities of occurrence in the clause. This would cut completely across morphological classification, and would produce a large number of sub-classes, e.g.:

1. Items which must occur initially in a clause, e.g.

kumbe 'however', ati 'that', maana 'for', halafu 'afterwards', etc.

2. Items which occur neutrally initial but which can occur in other positions, in which case the clause is marked, and the item at A has special significance, e.g.

labda 'perhaps', pengine 'alternatively', bila shaka 'no doubt', hakika 'certainly', sharti 'obligatorily', lazima 'necessarily'. A still more delicate sub-classification here would distinguish which positions other than initial such items can occupy, e.g. probably not all can occur finally; also there may be some which can occur between S and P but not between P and C and so on. Or the relevant question may be not what items they can separate, but what items they precede or follow.

3. Items which neutrally occur finally, e.g. tu 'only', pia 'also', leo 'today'.

4. Items which can occur in different positions relative to other elements, but which take on different functions in so doing, e.g. tena when initial links the clause to

the previous one. Similarly, when it occurs between two items at the same element of structure it links them (e.g. two items at q in nominal group structure). But when it occurs between two different elements of structure, e.g. between P and say, C, in clause structure, or finally, it modifies the element which precedes it. e.g.:

|| tena | nitakwenda | kwa siku saba ||  
   A       P                   A

'moreover I am going for seven days,'

(Clause linked to previous one.)

vitu [ vya baridi ] tena [ vinavyotoka kwenye firiji ]  
   h           q↓                   l                   q↓

'cold things from the fridge'

|| usiku | wakaja | tena | waizi, ||  
   A       P       A       S

'in the night thieves came again,'

|| ikawa | bibi | hawezi | kutembea | tena || kwa sababu amezaa,  
   A       S       P<sub>I</sub>       P<sub>II</sub>       A

'it happened that the wife could not get about any more  
 because she had had a baby,'

||| Kwa hiyo | baada ya hapo | sikuwa na | taabu | tena. |||  
      A                   A                   P                   C                   A

'So after that I had no more trouble.'

Sub-classification of this type would show, for example, that sentence adjuncts (those connecting one clause with another) are neutrally clause initial, which one would expect, but there may be some connecting factor between those which are obligatorily initial as opposed to those

which can occur in other positions. It would lead to an increase in the number of items accepted as sentence adjuncts (kumbe and eti are cases in point), on which information might be included in future dictionaries. It would produce more delicate classes, the significance of which (if any) cannot be foreseen in advance. This seems to me a line worth pursuing.

Appendix 1. Rank-shift.

The name 'rank-shift' describes the situation when a given unit (e.g. a clause) functions as an element in the structure of another unit of the same rank, or as an element in the structure of a unit of a lower rank. For example, a clause may function at S or C or A in the structure of a clause. In the following example, clauses function at both S and C:

|| [ mpaka unywe ] | ndipo | [ uozwe na bibi, ] ||  
                  S                  P                  C  
'it's only if you drink it that you may be married to the lady,'

In general, units consist of units of the rank next below, for example sentences consist of clauses; clauses consist of groups, and so on. Therefore in this case the rank-shifted clauses are functioning as if they were groups, i.e. at elements of structure in the clause. An analogous clause with groups functioning at S and C would be:

|| mahali hapa | ndipo | nyumbani pake, ||  
                  S                  P                  C  
'this place is really where he lives,'

Rank-shift is very frequent in Swahili at q in nominal groups. Since groups consist of words, units larger than words (e.g. groups, or clauses) which function at q must be rank-shifted. The following examples show respectively a group and a clause functioning at q within a nominal group.

mahali [ penye wafu ] 'a place of the dead'  
           h                  q

†mahali [[ palipokuwa na wafu ]] 'a place where there were  
           h                                  q                                  dead'

c.f.:

mahali pazuri 'a beautiful place'  
           h                  q

The frequency of occurrence of rank-shifted items at q in nominal group structure may be connected with or at least compensate for the fact that in general not more than two or three simple items occur at q in any given nominal group.

It is my impression also that rank-shift at elements of clause structure is particularly frequent in aphorisms, e.g.:

|| [[ panapo moshi ]] | hapakosi | moto, ||  
           S                                  P                                  C  
 'no smoke without fire,'

The units which are most frequently rank-shifted are clauses and groups. The clauses are usually rank-shifted to elements of clause structure (S, C, and A) or to the element q of group structure. Groups are usually rank-shifted to the element q in group structure. Examples of these phenomena have already been given. Occasionally rank-shift is found in other places, e.g.

[[ twende pamoja ]] basi 'let's-go-together bus'  
                   d                  h

- where a clause is functioning at d in a nominal group, c.f.

ile basi 'that bus'  
   d      h



Historically, at least, words may also be rank-shifted to morphemes, particularly in the case of tense signs, and the process appears to be continuing in the case of kwisha 'to finish', as in wameshafika 'they have already arrived'. Generally speaking, however, words do not appear very much subject to rank-shift. Morphemes, being the smallest units, clearly cannot function as anything less. Sentences might be regarded as rank-shifted, although in such cases there is always the possibility of regarding the clauses of which they consist as dependent, or linked, e.g.:

Nikaletewa | chai [ ya rangi ] || lakini haina sukari ||  
na kutoka kwenye firiji. ||]

'I was brought milkless tea but without sugar and out of the fridge.'

This could also be analysed as:

Nikaletewa <sub>χ</sub> chai ya rangi || lakini <sub>& χ</sub> haina sukari || na kutoka <sub>& χ</sub>  
kwenye firiji.

Sometimes in description one<sup>/</sup>has a choice between analysing an item as rank-shifted or not. When this occurs, the choice of rank-shift should be avoided because of the anomalous position it forces one into with regard to the analysis of the rank-shifted items themselves. In a syntactic analysis, items are recognised as 'being' particular units only with regard to their position at

elements of structure constituting larger units. In other words, a clause is only a clause, for example, by virtue of its relation to other clauses in the structure of a sentence, or by virtue of constituting a simple sentence itself. It is not a clause by virtue of its own structure, although its structure is describably, and certain distinct types emerge. If we compare the examples already given:

mahali pazuri 'a beautiful place'

mahali penye wafu 'a place of the dead'

mahali palipokuwa na wafu 'a place where there were dead'

it is clear that the items underlined in each case are functioning as qualifiers to mahali. Qualifiers, since they function within the unit 'group', must per se be words (since 'word' is the unit next below) or they must be rank-shifted if they consist of more than one word, since only in the sense that penye wafu and palipokuwa na wafu function at q in a nominal group can they be said to be 'words'. In their own structure they clearly consist of more than one word; in fact palipokuwa na wafu consists of more than one group. But they are only recognisable as respectively a group and a clause by analogy with other groups and clauses, many of which have the same structure. They are not recognised as group and clause by virtue of relationships with other groups and clauses constituting higher units. To recognise that these

units are rank-shifted as they occur above is legitimate within the type of description attempted here. To say that they are respectively a rank-shifted group and a rank-shifted clause presupposes a parallel description of the more conventional type, that of considering stretches of language to 'be' certain units by virtue of their own make-up. To describe a stretch of language as rank-shifted is syntactic: to describe it as a rank-shifted clause is also morphological.

Appendix 2. Linkage.

Linkage occurs at almost all ranks in Swahili. It is manifested by items, such as *hata* 'even' *na* 'and', *wala* 'nor' and so on, or by the verbal form *-ka-*, by the combination of the item *na* and the verbal form *ku-*, or by the combination of any linking item and the verbal form *-ka-*. Examples of linkage between units of all ranks follow:

between sentences:

||| *Kwa nini mume wangu?* ||| *Hata* *huwezi kuniambia neno kama hilo.* |||  
'Why, husband? And you can't say things like that to me.'

between clauses:

||| *Siku ile nilifikiria* || *sitakula chakula kwa sababu ya ile operesheni* || *lakini* *nilipewa chakula kama kawaida.* |||  
'I thought that I wouldn't be able to eat that day because of the operation but I was given good as usual.'

between groups:

||| *Wanabaki na suruali* || *na* | *kuvaa* | *zile eponi* | *na* *zile* < *nani hii* >  
*meski zile.* |||

'They kept their trousers on and wore aprons and those -  
whatsit - mask things.'

between words:

*Nilifanyiwa kwenye saa tisa* *kasa* *robo.*

'I was done at about quarter to three.'

Linkage does not appear to occur between morphemes, although

there seems no intrinsic reason why it should not, (though see following paragraph).

Usually, linkage occurs between items at the same rank (i.e. between two clauses, two groups, and so on). It may, however, also occur between items at different ranks, and this may include morphemes, e.g.:

Pesa hizi zitatusaidia pamoja na watoto wetu.

'This money will help us and our children.'

Here the morpheme -tu- and the rank-shifted group na [watoto wetu ] are linked by pamoja.<sup>1</sup>

Linking items (e.g. na 'and', wala 'nor', bali 'on the other hand', hata 'even', au 'or', ama 'alternatively', tena 'moreover', lakini 'but', kumbe 'amazingly', basi 'well', and so on) are subject to individual restrictions, but on the whole it is true to say that they can operate between items at more than one rank, i.e. a given linker can link, say, two clauses, or two groups, or two words. (As examples of restriction, na is not often used to link clauses; basi is not often used to link words, and in fact may not be able to.) The interesting question from a grammatical point of view is what status should these linkers have? If they link sentences, should they be considered as sentences themselves? This would imply that there is a class of sentence which consists always

1. It would be possible to regard the linking item as consisting of pamoja na. The reason for not doing so is analogy with forms such as juu ya., karibu na., and so on. (See page 146 .)

and only of a single item, and this, though probably the most logically consistent view theoretically, seems somewhat forced. One could regard the item as part of the following clause, as when it links clauses within sentences, and in both these cases the link is then a group. Some links are also morphologically more than one word, so in this sense also groups. (e.g. kwa sababu 'because', hata hivyo 'in spite of that'.) But when linkers operate between words in the same group, the analysis would be considerably complicated to regard these links as groups (moreover, the linkers which operate between words are most often single words themselves) and here it would seem easier to regard the linkers as words. Similarly, when they link groups. This means that there are certain items (linkers) whose status is that of either word or group according to their context. When they link sentences or clauses they function within clauses as groups. When they link groups or words they function within groups as words. (This is regardless of their morphological structure as words or groups.) Clearly no solution is going to be entirely satisfactory, and this is a compromise. I should point out, though, that apart from the clumsiness of considering linkers as classes of, say, sentence or clause, on the basis of the fact that they were linking such units, it would be impossible always to decide by this means on the

status of the linker because, as the example in the previous paragraph shows, linkage can occur between units of different ranks. An even more complicated example follows:

||| [ Asiyeona kwa yeye mwenyewe ] << na akionywa >> haoni. |||  
 $\alpha$  - - - - -  $\beta$  - - -  $\alpha$

'The man who doesn't see for himself, even if he is shown, can't see.'

Here the linkage is between a rank-shifted clause which is functioning as a group at S in the  $\alpha$  clause, and the  $\beta$  clause (i.e. linkage between an element of clause structure and another clause).

A more difficult problem arises from an utterance such as:

wakaishi na bibi yake, 'they lived, (he) and his wife,'  
 'he and his wife lived together,'

One would like somehow to make an analysis which involved na bibi yake at S, but the plural verbal prefix and the absence of any other group at S (such as yeye 'he', for example), seem to preclude this, although there is a clear contrast with the utterance:

<sup>†</sup>akaishi | na bibi yake 'he lived with his wife,'  
 P | A

For the moment the two utterances have the same analysis, with which I am not really satisfied.

The texts which follow are from tapes taken in the field. The first is from a conversation between two men. At one point I interpolated a sentence but I have not analysed my own Swahili. The second is from a conversation between a group of women primary school teachers, one of whom relates her experiences in hospital. The third is from a story told by a man. After each text a gloss is given.

The analysis is as follows. The first line beneath the text (in red) represents analysis of sentences into clauses, and the class of clause.  $\alpha$  is only marked when  $\beta$  is present. The system of marking is omitted because intonation is not shown. The second line (in green) represents analysis of clauses into groups. Classes of groups are marked only when a) the group is compound, b) the clause consists of a single group, c) the item is interrogative. The third line (in blue) represents analysis of groups into their elements of structure. For ease of identification, these are separated by a blue dotted line. They do not always correspond exactly with orthographic words. Sentences are separated by a triple black line. A full list of the symbols used is found on pp. 200 ff.



M. Sikiliza bwana wasikia nakuambia mimi siwezi kukuunga

$\emptyset!$	$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$
P	A	vi	vi
			S
			P <sub>I</sub>
			P <sub>II</sub>

mkono kwa sababu ya nini ninakuona sana ni mtu mwoga wewe.

$\emptyset? \sim$	$\emptyset.$
C <sub>2</sub>	P <sub>I</sub>
al	A
p i	P <sub>II</sub>
cv	C
[ h i qv ]	C <sub>S</sub>
[ P i c? ]	h i qe

Unaogopa sijui ---- simba au chui, na humo hamna chui wala

$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$
vi	vi	z	z
		AI	S
		P	C =
			= C
		i	h
			i

simba bwana. Lakini bado nakuona bila shaka woga bado mwingi.

$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$	$\emptyset.$
A	AI	A	P
		A al	S
			A
			C
h		p i	c

H. Mna hakika gani kuwa ni mwoga yaani tuliwahi kusafiri

$\emptyset \times ?$	$\emptyset \beta''$	$\emptyset.$
P	C	As
h	qn?	P
		C
		AI
		P <sub>I</sub>
		P <sub>II</sub>

labda siku moja tuka ....

$\&$
A n i
da
h
qn

M. || Juzi juzi hatukusafiri wewe na mimi kutoka hapa kwenda

$\overline{A} \equiv \overline{EA}$	$P$	$S =$	$= S_{nl}$	$A_{al}$	$P_I$
			$l : h$	$p : c$	

kukaa kule Bagamoyo? || Njiani huta ... hukupiga makelele

$P_I$	$\overline{A} =$	$= A$	$A$	$z$	$P$	$C$

bwana? || Amemwona nguruwe. || Anapiga kelele, naye alikuwa

$A$	$P$	$C$	$P$	$C$	$SI$	$P_{vl}$
						$x$

amenipakia mimi baisikeli.

	$C_1$	$C_2$
$m$		

Tukaanguka chini. || Namwuliza nini? || Anatetemeka kabisa.

$P$	$C$	$P$	$C$	$P$	$A$

"O, mimi, nimeona kitu, upesi twende," || Namwambia || "Hapana,

$A$	$S$	$P$	$C$	$A$	$P$	$vl$	$A$

tulia kwanza." (laughter) Anatetemeka kabisa Namwambia

P	A				P	A			

"Wewe bwana usipige kelele bwana, nguruwe huyu, hana neno."

S	A =	P	C	= A	C	S	P	C

"O, atanitafuna, atanitafuna." Namwambia "Nguruwe hatafuni

A	P					S	P

mtu." Labda pengine ikiwa kama ana watoto, kama utampiga

C	A	A	A s	A s	P	C	A s	P

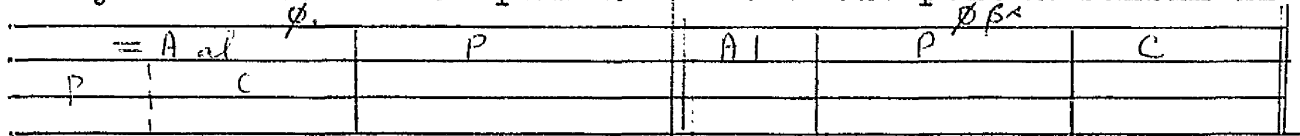
ndiyo hapo anaweza kukufanyia taabu kwa sababu umepiga watoto

A	A I	P I	P II	C 2	A a l s	P	C
					p	c	h

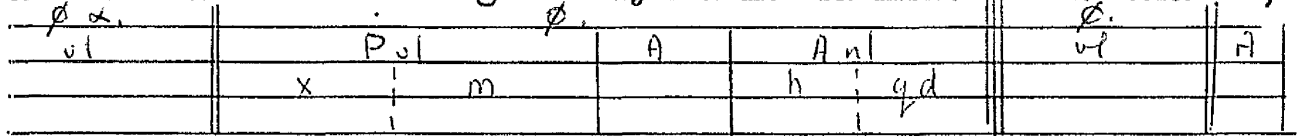
wake. Basi ikawa anatetemeka kabisa hapa namwambia "Hapa

	A I	P I	P II	A	A I	P	A =
q p							

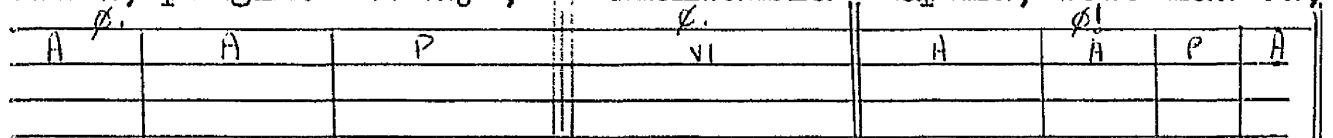
kwenye baiskeli nitakupakia." Basi tukipeleka baisikeli



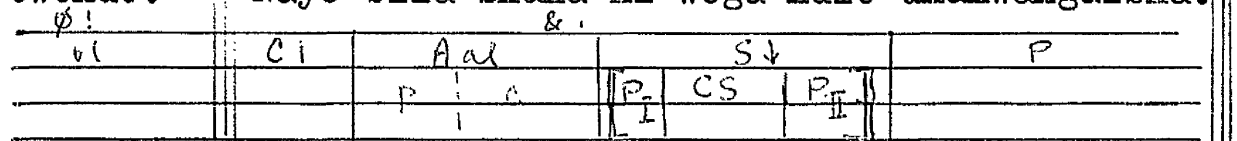
anakwenda alikuwa anageuka nyuma namna hii. Anasema "O,



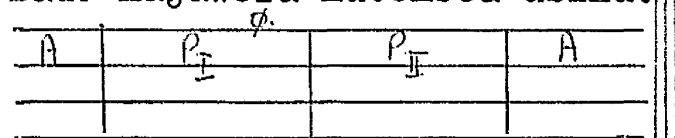
bwana, pengine atakuja," Ninamwambia "Hapana, wewe kaa tu,



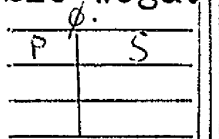
twende." Naye bila shaka ni woga ndio unamwangaisha.



Bado hajaweza kutembea usiku.



H. Sio woga.



M. Mwoga huyu.

$\phi$	$\phi$
C	S

(J.M. Angalikuwa ni mwoga asingalikwenda Dar es Salaam kwa baisikeli.)

M. O, sasa, unajua kwenda DSM wako watu wangapi?

$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$
A	A	P	P	C	P	S	nl	h	gn?

H. Wawili tu.

$\phi$	$\phi$
nl	nl
h	ga

M. Watu wawili gani? Karibu watu kumi, kumi na tano.

$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$
h	gn	gn?	da	h	nl	gn	gn	h	h

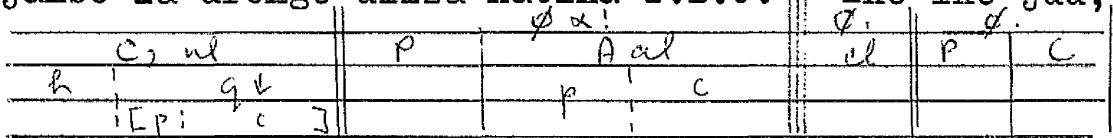
Yeye anakaa katikati.

$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$
S	P	C

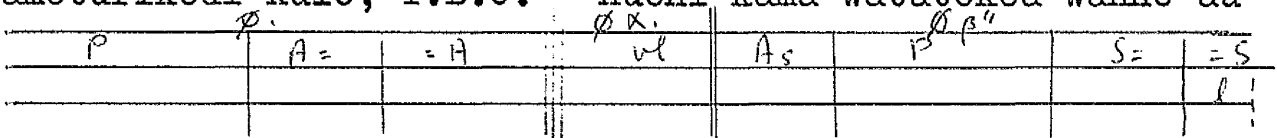
H. Tulikuwa wawili tu, sisi. Hata kama unaona tunakuambia

$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$
P	C	nl	S	AI	As	P	P
	h	ga					

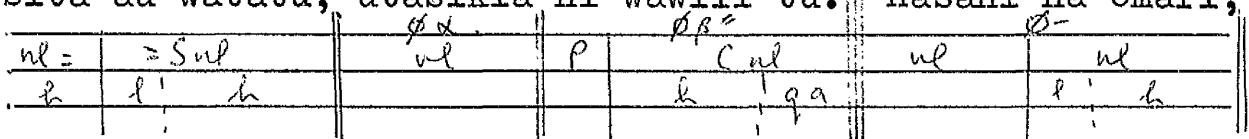
jambo la urongo uliza katika T.B.C. Iko iko juu,



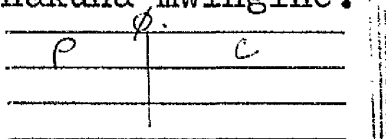
ameturikodi kule, T.B.C. Huoni kama watatokea wanne au



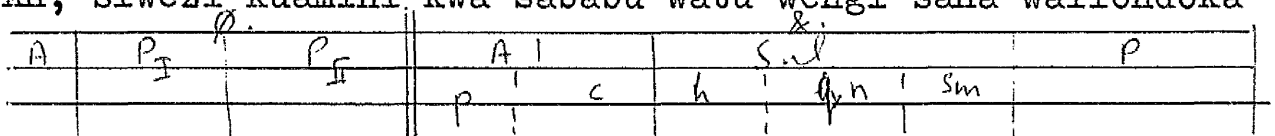
sita au watatu, utasikia ni wawili tu. Hasani na Omari,



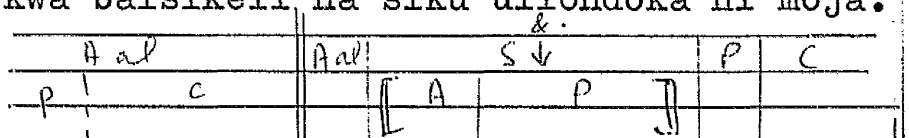
hakuna mwingine.



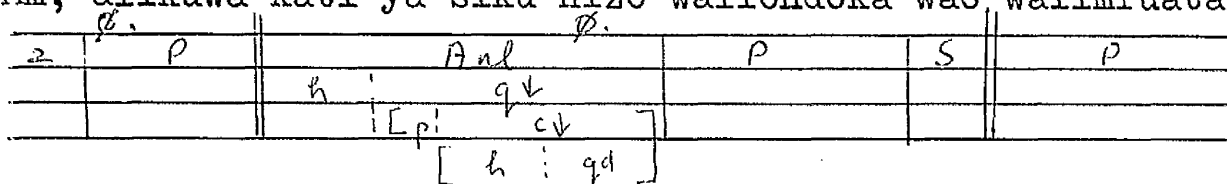
M. Ah, siwezi kuamini kwa sababu watu wengi sana waliondoka



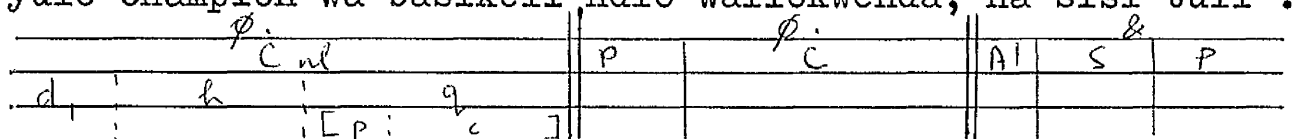
kwa baisikeli na siku uliondoka ni moja.



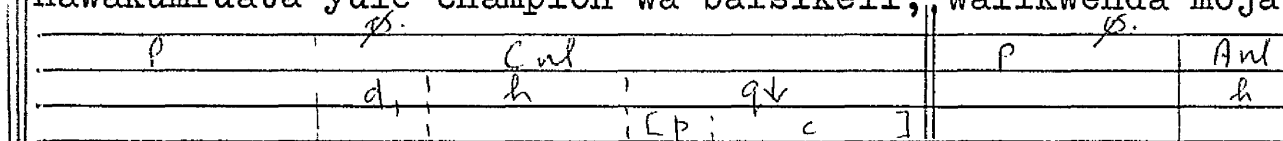
H. Mm, alikuwa kati ya siku hizo waliondoka wao, walimfuata



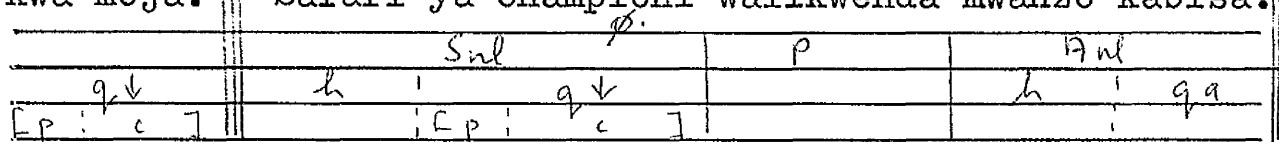
yule champion wa basikeli ndio waliokwenda, na sisi tuli ....



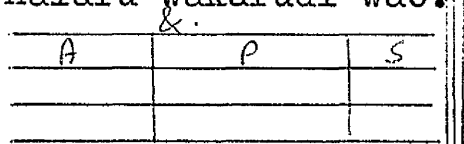
M. Hawakumfuata yule champion wa baisikeli,, walikwenda moja



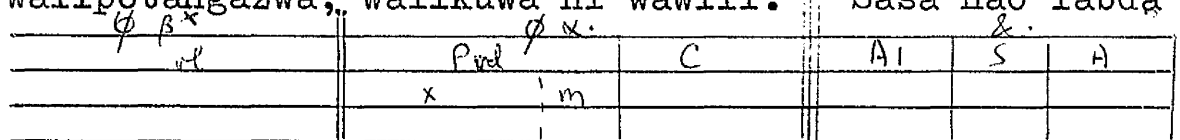
kwa moja. || Safari ya championi walikwenda mwanzo kabisa.



Halafu wakarudi wao.



H. Walipotangazwa,, walikuwa ni wawili. || Sasa hao labda



hawakufika au labda walikuwa na safari nyingine. || Nao

P	AI	A	P <sub>VI</sub>	C <sub>NI</sub>	C <sub>I</sub>
			x	m	h
					q <sub>n</sub>

wala hatukuwaona kule tulikofikizia sisi.

AI	P	H =	= Av
			P
			C

M. Siwezi kusadiki bwana usemi wako.

P <sub>I</sub>	P <sub>II</sub>	A	C <sub>NI</sub>
			h
			q <sub>p</sub>

H. Ndiyo, kwa vile wewe ni mtu ambayo unapenda sana kubishana

A	A <sub>al</sub>	S	P	C	A <sub>s</sub>	P <sub>I</sub>	A	P <sub>II</sub>
	P	C						

kwa hiyo huwezi kueleana na mtu mara moja, ndiyo.

A <sub>al</sub>	P <sub>I</sub>	P <sub>II</sub>	A <sub>al</sub>	A <sub>NI</sub>	A
P	C		P	h	q <sub>n</sub>

M. Mimi siyo mpingaji isipokuwa wewe bwana nakuona maneno

s	P	C	AI	C <sub>I</sub>	A	P <sub>I</sub>	C <sub>s</sub>



yako, si halali upande wangu. Bila shaka naona unanipiga

	P II	C	A nl	A al	P	P
q p			h	p	c	
			q p			

kigongo mimi.

C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub>

H. Hapana. Si ....

cl	z

M. Unanipiga kigongo.

P	C <sub>2</sub>

H. Hapana. Na wewe unaninyoa bila maji. Nitakubali

cl	A	S	P	A al	P
				p	c

wapi sasa?

A?	A

M. Listen mate, you hear? - I'm telling you I can't agree - and why? - I'm very much of the opinion that you're a coward, you are. You're afraid of I don't know ---- lion or leopard, and hereabouts there's neither leopard nor lion, mate. But as for you, I still think there's no doubt you're terribly cowardly.

H. How can you be sure that I'm a coward, since we managed to go on a journey lasting nearly a whole day, and we ..

M. Just recently didn't we go off together you and me from here to go and stay in Bagamoyo? On the way you .... didn't you kick up a shindy mate? - He'd seen a wild pig. He yells - and he was carrying me on a bicycle. We fell off. I ask him what goes. He trembles all over. 'Oh, I - I've seen something, quick, let's go'. I says to him, 'Nay, just calm down'. He trembles all over; I says to him, 'Oh, mate, don't make such a din, it's a pig, it can't hurt'. 'Oh, it'll bite me, it'll bite me'. I says to him, 'Pigs don't bite people.' Perhaps maybe if it's got young, if you hit it, well then it can give you trouble because you've attacked it's young. Well so he's trembling all over so I says to him, 'Here, I'll carry you on the bike.' So as we were riding the bike he went .... he was turning round like this. He was saying, 'Oh, mate, maybe it'll come after us,' I says to him, 'Nay, just you sit still, we're off.' As for him, there's no doubt that it is cowardice that gets him down. He daren't yet go out at night.

H. It isn't cowardice.

M. He's a coward.

(J.M. If he had been a coward he wouldn't have gone to Dar by bicycle.)

M. Oh, now then, as for going to Dar, do you know how many people there were?

H. Just two.

M. How do you mean, two? More like ten or fifteen. Him keeping in the middle.

H. Only two of us, there were. And if you think we're telling you something that's not true, ask at the Tanzania Broadcasting Company. It's right there, they recorded us there, at the T.B.C. You won't find it turns out there were four or six or three, you'll hear there were only two. Hasani and Omari, nobody else.

M. Oh, I can't believe it because a lot of people went off by bike and that was the same day you left.

H. H'm, it was about that time some people set off with the cycling champion, it was they who left, and we ....

M. They didn't go after the cycling champion, they went off on purpose. The champion's following went off right at the beginning. They came back afterwards.

H. In the broadcast there were two. As for them, perhaps they didn't get there, or perhaps they were going somewhere else. But we didn't see them where we went.

M. I can't believe what you say, mate.

H. Yes, because you're the sort of person that likes to argue, so you never see eye to eye with anyone straight away, that's it.

M. I'm not one to contradict, but I think what you say, mate, doesn't seem quite right to me. I see you want to get at me for nothing.

M. Not at all. I don't ....

H. You're getting at me.

M. No such thing. You are picking on me. How can I put up with that?

A. Nilikuwa na wasiwasi, lakini nilikuwa najipa moyo pia,

$\emptyset \beta$		$\& \alpha$			
P	C	A1	P	C	A
x	m		x	m	

kwamba sitaweza kupata taabu tena ikiwa ugonjwa huu utaondoa.

$\emptyset \beta^x$					$\emptyset \gamma^x$		
As	P <sub>I</sub>	P <sub>II</sub>	C	H	As	Snl	P
						h	qd

Kwa hiyo nimekaa kama saa mbili na nusu hivi, kwani mabwana

Iwa nyo nimeraka kama saa milioni na nusu hivi, kwani mawana & α.											
Aal d		P		A nl =				= A	H d		Snl
p		c		da	h	qn	l	qn			h

mganga hawakuelewa kwamba ni nani ambaye angepelekwa pale

Inganga hawakawawa		hawaka hii hani		ambaye aligeziwa pale		
$\emptyset \beta^=$		$\emptyset \gamma^+$				
P	As	P	C	As	P	A =
h						

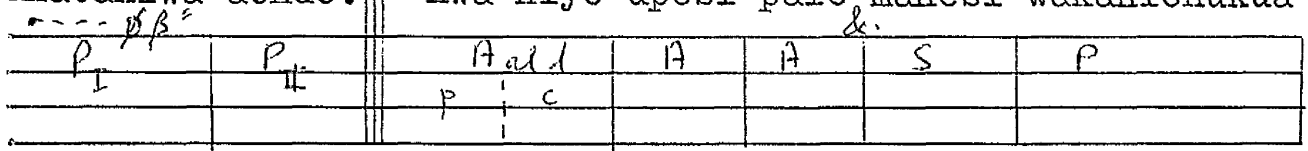
theatre. Wakaja na gari, lile ambulance kamwambia yule

= A		P		Aal		P		C nl	
		p		c =		= c v		d <sub>1</sub>	
				[d <sub>1</sub>		h		]	

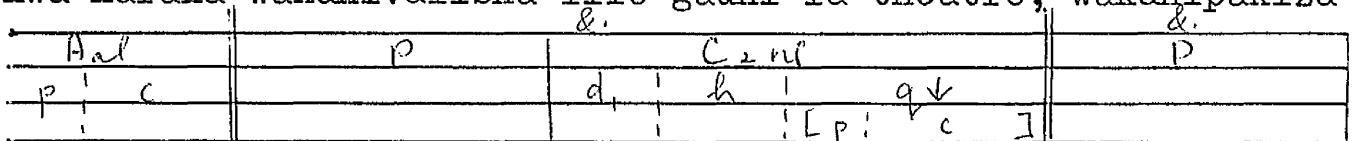
sista kwamba huyu mama ambaye anatakiwa kufanyiwa operesheni

$\emptyset \beta^=$		$\emptyset \gamma^+$	
As	Snl	As	P <sub>I</sub>
h	d <sub>1</sub>	h	P <sub>II</sub>
			C

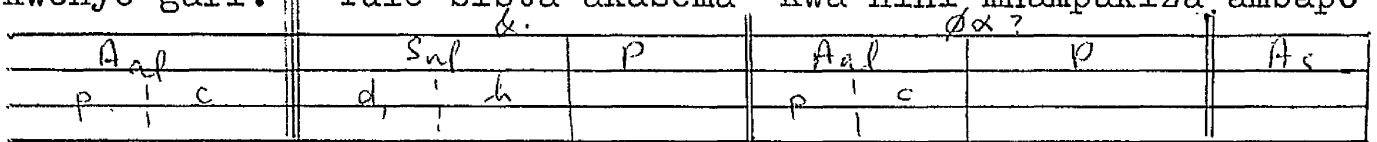
anatakiwa aende. || Kwa hiyo upesi pale manesi wakanichukua



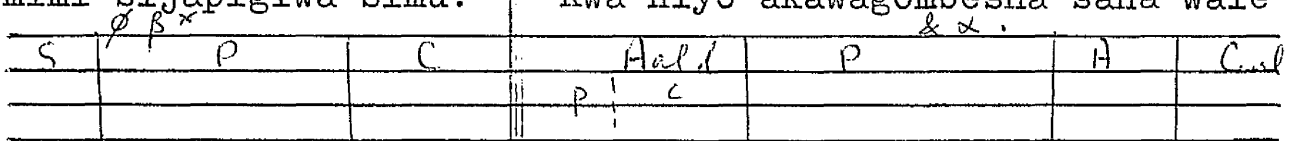
kwa haraka wakanivalisha lile gauni la theatre, wakanipakiza



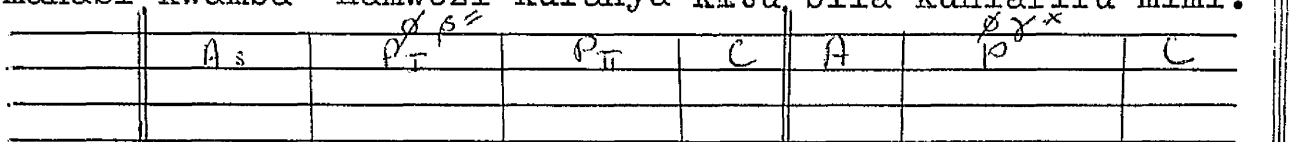
kwenye gari. || Yule sista akasema "Kwa nini mnampakiza ambapo



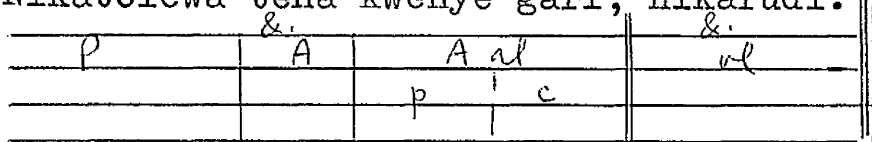
mimi sijapigiwa simu?" || Kwa hiyo akawagombesha sana wale



manasi kwamba "Hamwezi kufanya kitu bila kuniarifu mimi."

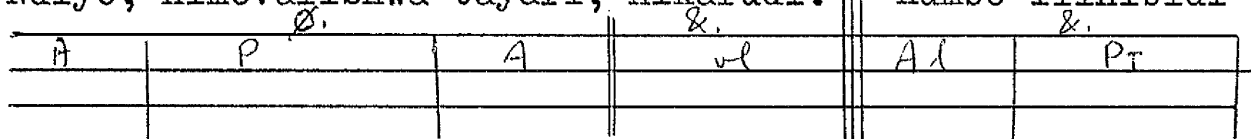


Nikatolewa tena kwenye gari, nikarudi.

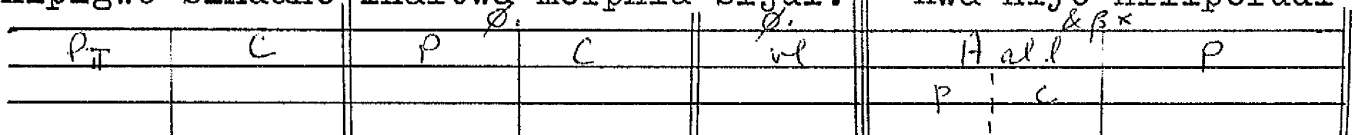


B. !  
 $\phi -$   
2

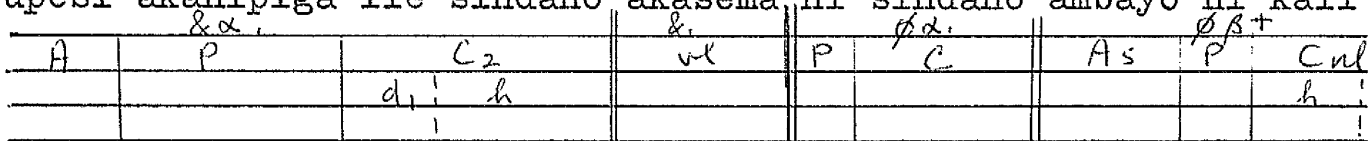
A. Ndiyo, nimevalishwa tayari, nikarudi. || Kumbe ilinibidi



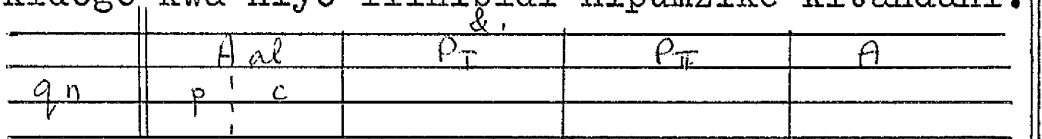
nipigwe sindano inaitwa morphia sijui. || Kwa hiyo niliporudi



upesi akanipiga ile sindano akasema ni sindano ambayo ni kali

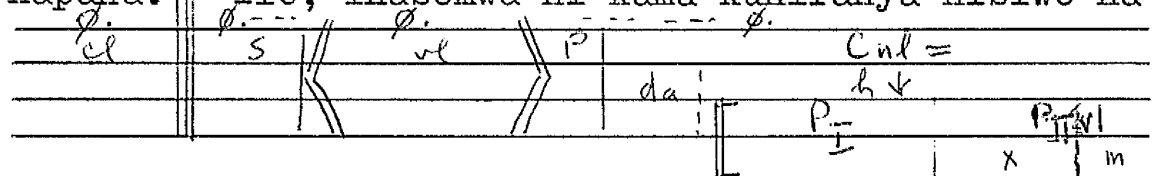


kidogo kwa hiyo ilinibidi nipumzike kitandani. ||

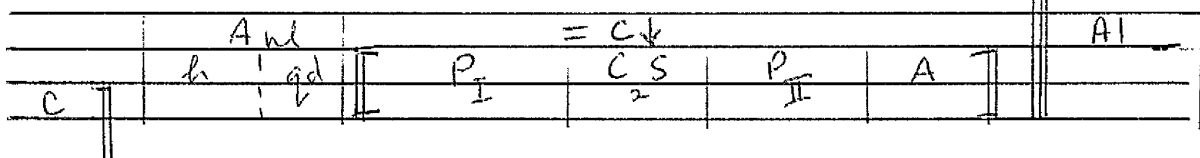


B. ---homa? ||

A. Hapana. || Ile, inasemwa ni kama kunifanya nisiwe na



mawazo nani hii kunifanya akili ipotee kidogo. || Basi



nikapumzika pale, kama saa tatu saa zimeendelea dokta kapiga

P	A	da	h	qn	S	P	S	P

simu akasema kwamba ameletwa mgonjwa haraka sana kwa hiyo

C	As	P	C	Anl	h	qn	Al	l

atamfanyia operesheni yeye kwanza na atakapomaliza hapo

P	C <sub>2</sub>	BC <sub>1</sub>	A	Al	Al

atampigia simu tena.

P	C <sub>2</sub>	A

B. Hivyo wanafanyia operesheni huko Galanos?

Al	P	C	A =	= A

A. Kule Kilifi kuna theatre, lakini hawakufanyia kule.

S =	= S	P	C	Al	P	A



Walifanyia kule karibu na Galanos, karibu na wodi za wanamme.

$\phi$	$A =$	$= Anl =$	$= Anl$
$h$	$q \downarrow$	$h$	$q \downarrow$
$[p : c]$	$[p : c]$	$[p : c]$	$[p : c]$
		$[h : q \downarrow]$	$[p : c]$

Lakini ---- (noise) ---- pumzika tu. || Na kwa bahati mama

$A_1$	$z$	$P$	$A$	$A_1$	$A_{al}$	$S$
					$p$	$c$

siku ile alikuja kuniona, kwa haraka, kwa hiyo, walipoambiwa

$Anl$	$P_I$	$P_{II}$	$A_{al}$	$A_{al}$	$P$
$h$	$q \downarrow$		$p$	$c$	

kwamba sijakwenda theatre, waliomba ruksa kuja kuniona.

$A_s$	$\phi \beta^=$	$P$	$C$	$\phi \alpha.$	$C$	$\phi \beta^+$	$vl_I$	$vl_{II}$

Wakaja tukasalimiana pale, kwa kweli kila mtu alikuwa na

$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$	$\phi$
$vl$	$p$	$A$	$A_{al}$	$S_{al}$	$P_{al}$	
			$p$   $c$	$d_s$   $h$	$x$   $m$	

wasiwasi, lakini mimi nilionekana tu, mwenye furaha wala nifa

$C$	$A_1$	$S$	$P$	$A$	$C_{al}$	$A_1$	$C$
					$p$	$c$	

sijali. || Na mume wangu akiwa na wasiwasi aliwapigia ndugu

P	Al	h	gn	x	m	c	p	C	nl
---	----	---	----	---	---	---	---	---	----

zangu wote simu siku ile, wote walifika. || Nimekaa, kwa

gn	gn	Cz	h	gn	S	p	nl	Aal	p
----	----	----	---	----	---	---	----	-----	---

bahati nikachukuliwa na usingizi nikalala. || Mpaka kwenye

c	p	Aal	p	c	p	Aal	c	da
---	---	-----	---	---	---	-----	---	----

saa sita nikaamka tena. || O, nani hii, masista kuuliza

h	gn	p	A	A	h	gn	c	p
---	----	---	---	---	---	----	---	---

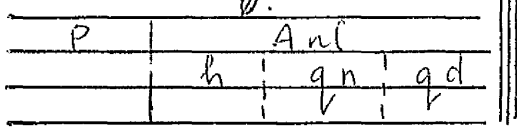
waliambiwa bado.

p	c
---	---

B. Hukupewa hata brekfast?

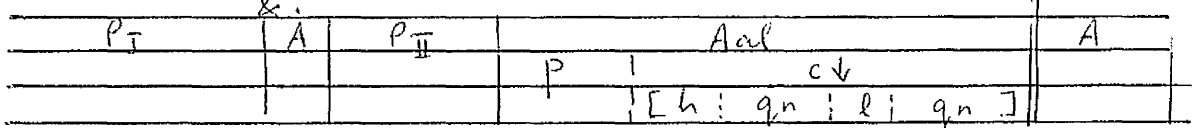
p	A	c
---	---	---

A. Sikula siku, nzima ile.

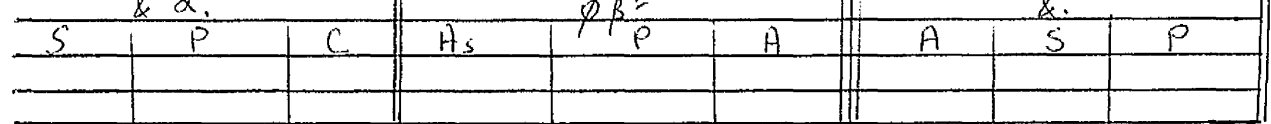


B. O!  
 ϕ-  
 z

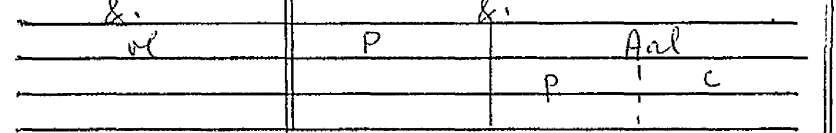
A. Nikaendelea tu kulala, mpaka saa nane na nusu, ndiyo



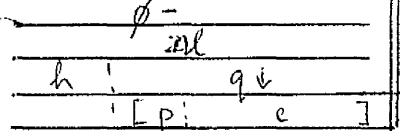
dokta kapiga simu kwamba nilete sasa. Pale gari likaja



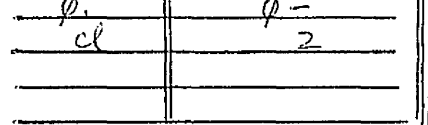
likanichukua nikaenda mpaka theatre.



B. Gari la kusukuma?



A. Hapana, ambulensi.



B. Ambulensi, hm? ||  
 $\phi$ -  $\phi$ -  
 z z

A. Nikaenda mpaka theatre, nikaingia vizuri theatre kwa

P	Aal	P	A	C	Aal
	p				p

miguu yangu, lakini kwa bahati yule mwenzangu ambaye alifanyiwa

	A1	Aal	Snl	Hs	$\phi\beta^+$ P
$c\downarrow$		p	d		
[h i q p]					

operesheni alikuwa amekufa. || Na mimi nilipoingia tu

C	Pol	A1	S	P	A
	x				

nilikwishamwona amelazwa mahali. || Kwa hiyo kidogo nikaona

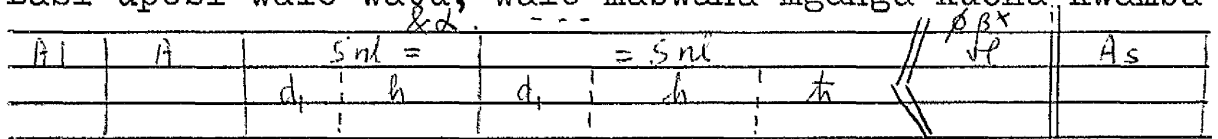
$\phi\alpha$	p	A	Aal	A	P
vl					

wasiwasi. ||  
 C

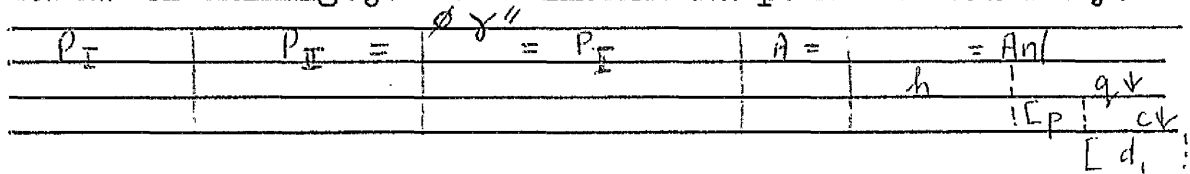
B. Ee, lazima uogope. ||

A	A	P

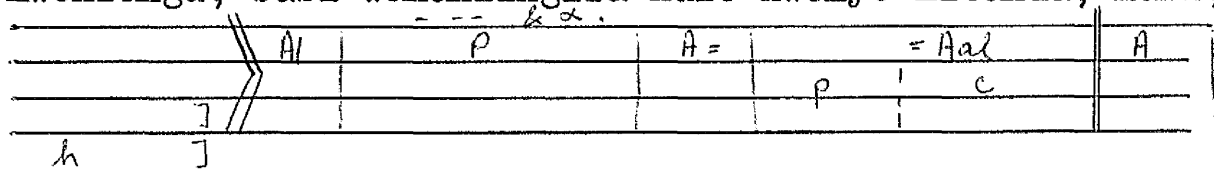
A. Basi upesi wale watu, wale mabwana mganga kuona kwamba



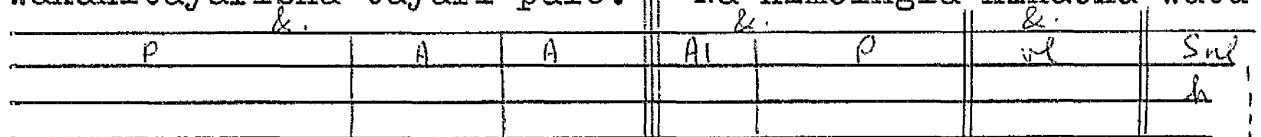
hawawezi kuningoja kunisimamaisha pale karibu na yule



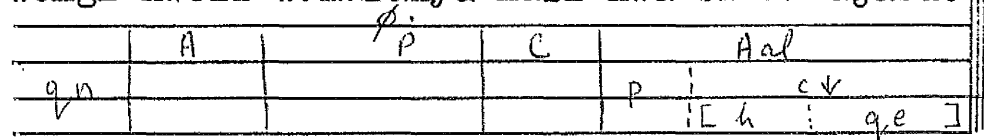
mwenzangu, basi wakaniingiza kule kwenye kitanda, nani,



wakanitayarisha tayari pale. || Na nimeingia nikaona watu



wengi kweli wanafanya kazi kwa bidii ajabu. ||



A. I was nervous, but I was also heartened, to think that I wouldn't have any more trouble if this illness disappeared. So I waited about two and a half hours, for the orderlies didn't know who should be sent to the theatre. They came with a conveyance, an ambulance, and said to the sister that the lady who is to have an operation is wanted. So the nurses hastily took me in a hurry and dressed me in a theatre gown and put me in the conveyance. The sister said, 'Why are you putting her in when I have not yet been rung up?' And for that she told the nurses off properly saying, 'You must not do anything without letting me know.' I was taken out of the ambulance, and went back.

B. !

A. Yes, I was dressed up in preparation, and I went back. It turned out I had to have an injection, called morphia or something. So when I got back she quickly injected me and said that it was rather a powerful injection so I must stay quietly in bed.

B. ---- fever?

A. No. They say that it's to sort of prevent me thinking - that is, so that I should lose consciousness slightly. So [ relaxed there; about nine o'clock - the time went by the doctor phoned and said that someone had been brought to him as an emergency, so he would do her operation first and when he had finished he would telephone again.

B. So they do operations at Galanos?

A. There's a theatre at Cliff, but they didn't do it there. They did it somewhere near Galanos, near the men's wards. But ---- just rest. And luckily my mother came that day to visit me, suddenly. So when they were told that I hadn't yet gone into the theatre they asked permission to come and see me. They came, we greeted each other - to tell the truth everyone was nervous, but I seemed to be the only one who was pleased, and I never thought of dying. And since my husband was nervous, he phoned up all my relatives that day, and they all came. Time went by, and it happened that I fell asleep. Then about twelve o'clock I woke up again. Oh, er, when the sisters were asked they were told 'Not yet'.

B. Weren't you even given breakfast?

A. I didn't eat anything all that day.

B. Oh!

A. I just went on lying there until half past two, and that's when the doctor phoned to say they should bring me now. At once the conveyance came and took me and I went to the theatre.

B. A trolley?

A. No, an ambulance.

B. An ambulance, eh?

A. I went to the theatre, and I went into the theatre all right on my own two feet, but it happened that the person who had been operated on had died. And just as I went in I caught sight of her laid out somewhere. So I felt a bit nervous.

B. Yes, you must have been frightened.

A. So at once those people, the orderlies, realizing that they mustn't wait - make me wait there near her, they took me in onto the operating table, er, they got me quite ready then. And I went in and saw a lot of people being extremely busy.



Basi yuko kikongwe mmoja akakaa huko akaja pale. Alipokuja

A1	P	Snl	P	C	P	C	Al
		h	gn				vl

"Hodi hodi" "Karibu". Sasa yule mtoto wake anaitwa Kibwana,

Z	=Z	A	Snl	P	C
			d	h	qp

yule aliyemzaa. Anaitwa Kibwana Maskini mwenyewe. Kwa

C	P	P	Cnl	S	Asal
			h	h	p

vile babake jina lake Maskini anaitwa Maskini. Akaja bibi.

C	RS	Snl	C	P	C	P	S
		h	qp				

"Nasikia mkeo alizaa mtoto Mbwana, Kibwana." Amwambia

vl	S	P	C	=C	=C	Al
						vl

"Eeh, bibi amezaa mtoto wa Kibwana." "Sasa yule Kibwana wa

Z	S	P	Cnl	Al	Snl
			h	qp	d
			[p	c	h
					p

nani huyu, wa Maskini?" ||| Ndio basi ikawa Kibwana Maskini.

Cal=	=S	=Cal	A	AI	P	Cal
L?		p   c				h   t
		p				

Akaingia yule bibi akamchukua mtoto. "O, Kibwana Maskini,

k.		k.		p.	
P	S	P	C	Z	nl =
	d, h				h, t

Kibwana Maskini." ||| Basi akamwambia bibi yake sasa kuwa

=nl	AI	P	C	A	As
h	t		h	qp	

"Ah ndugu yangu, taabu gani hii?", amwambia mkewe yule bibi

2	Anl $\emptyset \beta \neq$		Cnl		S	P	C $\emptyset$	Snl	
	h	qp	h	qn?				d	h

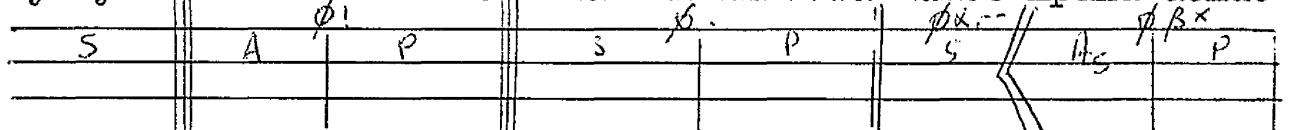
kizee. "Hamwoni ni taabu nyinyi?" ||| Watu mliona taabu na

ge	P <sub>I</sub>	P <sub>II</sub>	C	S	A	P	C	AI

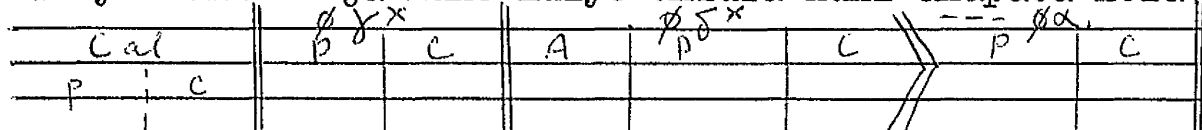
mumeo mwenyewe ikawa aacha kazi ya kuni. ||| Mnakula nini

Snl		Pnl		Cnl		P		C?	
h	qn	x	m	h	q <sub>h</sub>	c			
					[p]				

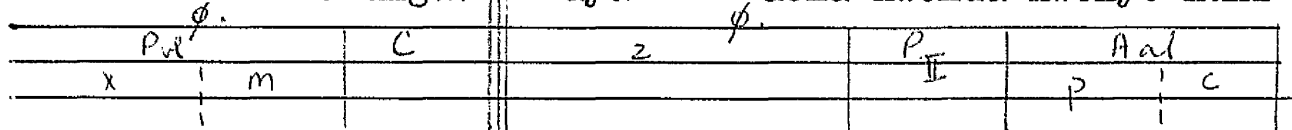
nyinyi? Hebu nambie. Zamani ilikuwa mumeo mpaka aende



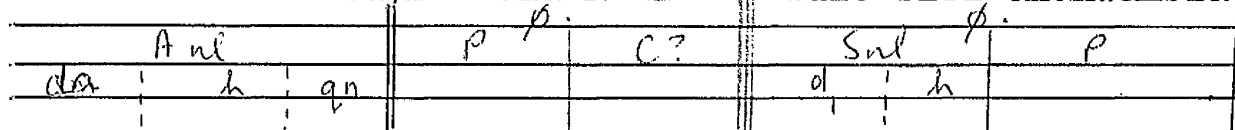
kwenye kuni akiya huko ndiyo akiuza kuni anapata hela



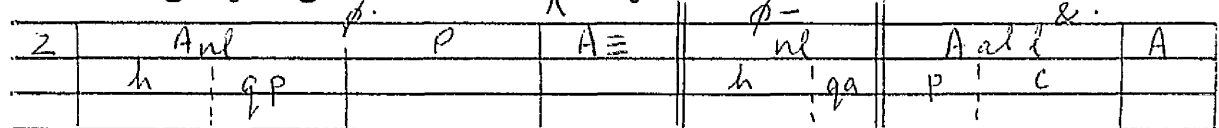
anakwenda nunua unga. Haya ---- aha kwenda kwenye kuni



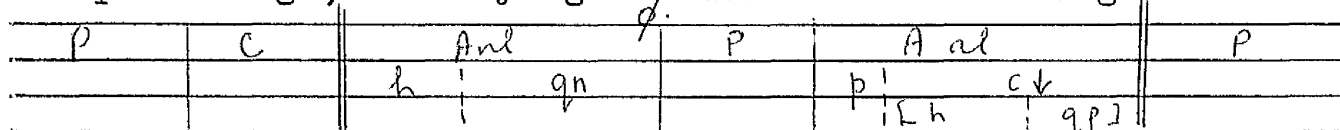
karibu miezi sita mnakula nini?" Yule bibi anamwambia



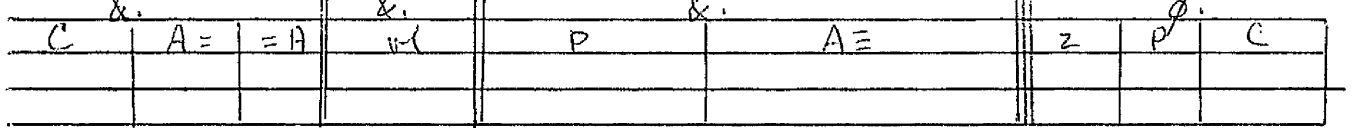
"Ah ndugu yangu tunakula <sup>hivyo</sup> hivyo taabu tu kwa sababu leo



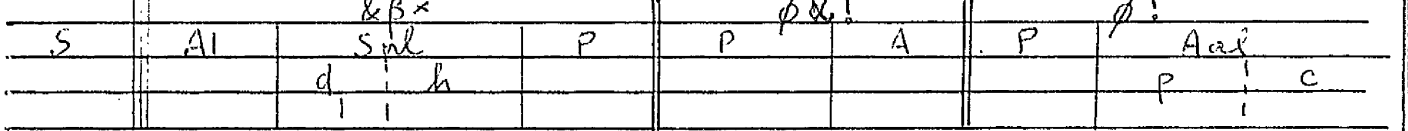
nimepata mboga, siku nyingine natoka na mtoto wangu nkachuma



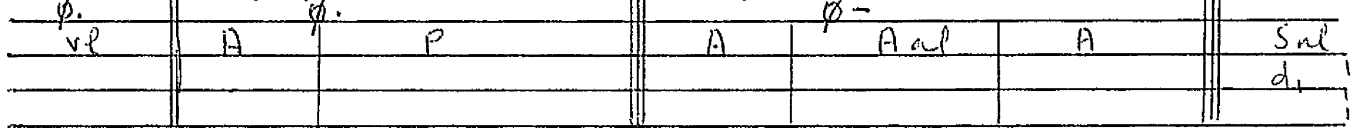
mboga hapo nje tukaje tukalalie hivyo hivyo." "Ah si taabu



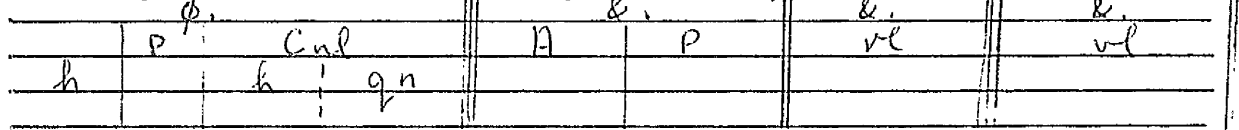
hiyo! Basi huyu mumeo akiya mwambie kesho "Enda kwenye kuni?"



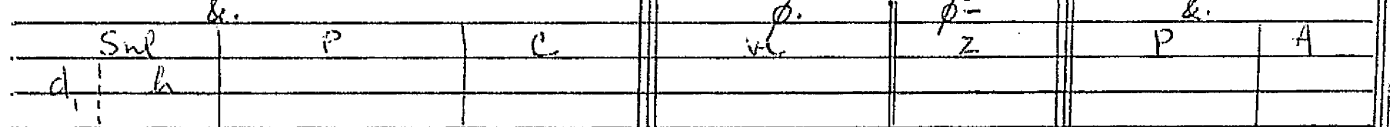
Mwambia "Haya, nitamwambia!" "Haya kwa heri Kibwana". Yule



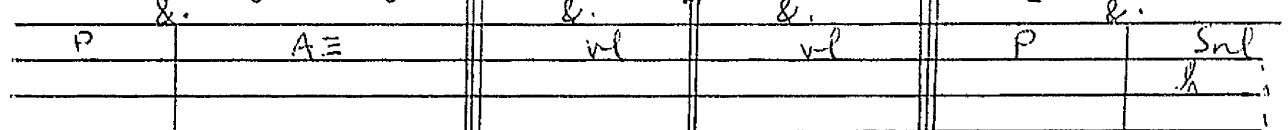
mtoto yu mzuri sana. Haya akakaa, wakakaa. Wakakaa.



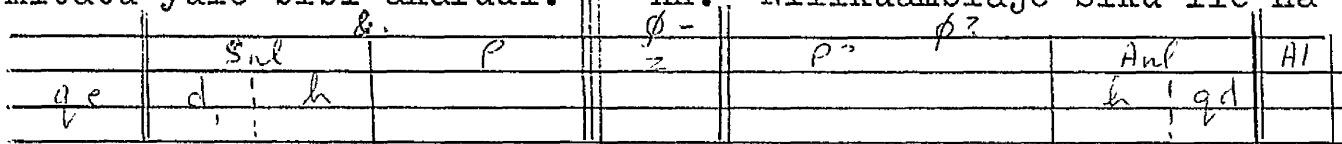
Yule bibi akamweleza mumewe. Amwambia "Haya". Wakakaa tena.



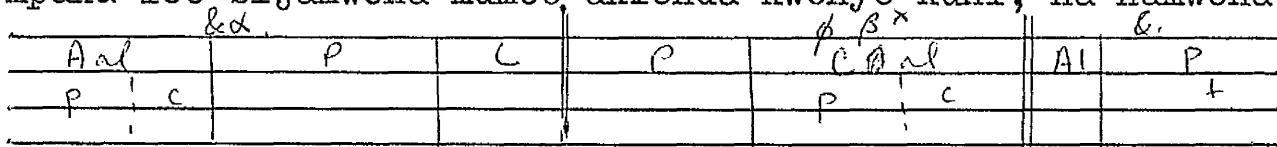
Wakakaa hivyo hivyo. Wakakaa, wakakaa. Ikapata miezi



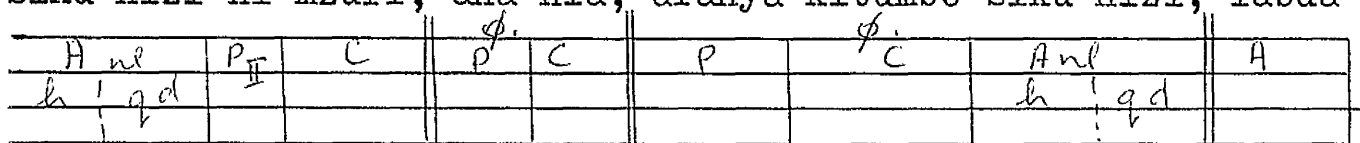
mitatu yule bibi akarudi. || "Ah!, Nilikuambiaje siku ile na



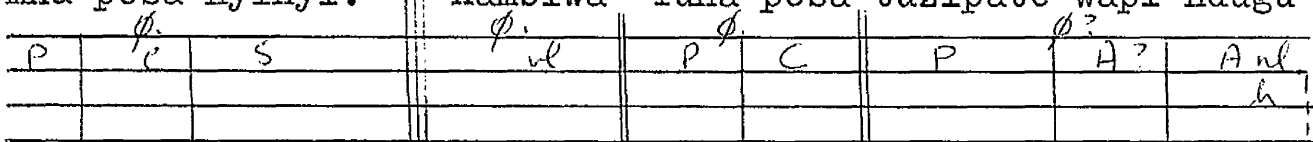
mpaka leo sijamwona mumeo, akienda kwenye kuni, na namwona



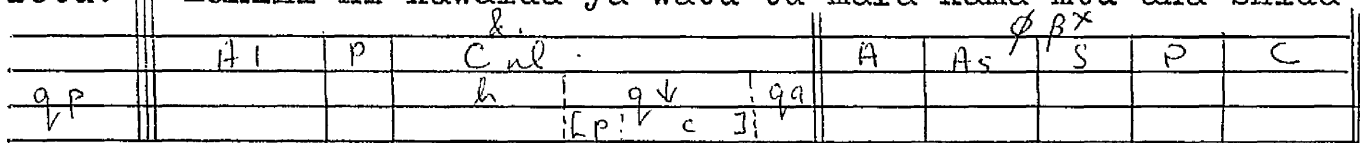
siku hizi ni mzuri, ana nia, afanya kitumbo siku hizi, labda



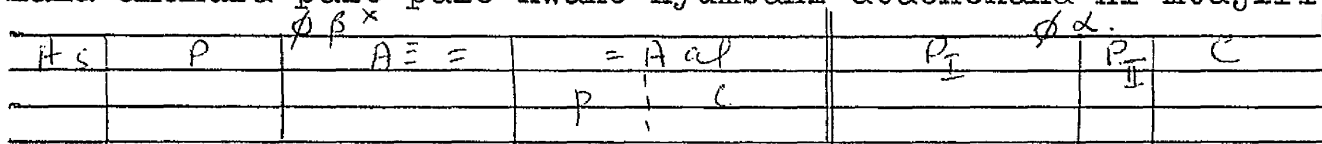
mna pesa nyinyi." || Aambiwa "Tuna pesa tuzipate wapi ndugu



zetu? || Lakini ni kawaida ya watu tu mara kama mtu ana shida



kama anakufa pale pale kwake nyumbani ataonekana ni mtajiri



kumbe hali ni maskini sana". Asema, "Ah, usinambie. Nambie

Al	S	P	Cnl	h	gn	vl	z	vl	P

mjukuu wangu, mimi ni bibi yako tu," amwambia, "Nambie

Anl	S	P	Cnl	h	gn	vl	P
h			h	gn	gn		

mjukuu wangu, kama mna pesa nyinyi, basi kama nyinyi mna pesa,

Anl	As	P	C	S	Al	As	S	P	C
h									

mkanisaidie mimi na mimi - huoni mimi ni kama mamako eh?

P	C	Al	z	P	CS	P	Cnl	z
							da	h

Kunisaidia si furaha kubwa kwa Mungu? Na mimi nitakuambia,

S	P	Cnl	h	gn	p	c	Al	S	P

Mungu atakufanyia, ah, nitakufanyia dawa, utazaa mtoto

S	P	z	P	C	P	Cnl
						h

mwengine, eh. Niambie sasa." Dó! Yule bibi akamwambia

"Mume wangu niki mwambia mambo haya ya dawa atanipiga. Tena

atanifukuza na mimi nampenda mume wangu, tuishi pamoja."

Basi akamwambia, "Haya, si kitu." Akatoka. Basi yule bwana,

kila aki amka asubuhi, anakaa pale kwenye kiti chake kile

cha kiovyo-ovyó. Basi anakaa. Basi alikaa mpaka sultani

akenda yule bi-kikongwe akamwambia, "Huyo maskini, ni mzuri

P	<sup>&amp;.</sup> S <sub>nl</sub>	<sup>&amp;.</sup> vl	<sup>φ.</sup> S <sub>nl</sub> =	P	C
	d <sub>1</sub>   h		d <sub>1</sub>   h		

ndipo huyu, kila saa ukienda utamwona akakaa barazani kimya,

A	=S	<sup>φβx</sup> A <sub>nl</sub>	P	<sup>φx</sup> vl	<sup>&amp;.</sup> P	A	A
		d <sub>2</sub>   h					

hataki jambo lo lote, wala kwenye kuni siku hizi haendi.

P	<sup>φ.</sup> C <sub>nl</sub>	A <sub>I</sub>	<sup>&amp;.</sup> C <sub>nl</sub>	<sup>φ.</sup> A <sub>nl</sub>	P
	h   q <sub>n</sub>		p   c	h   q <sub>d</sub>	

Mji una shida ya kuni huko bwana Sultani sisi uende

S=	<sup>φ.</sup> P	C <sub>nl</sub>	=S	<sup>φ.</sup> A <sub>nl</sub>	A	P <sub>I</sub>
		h   q <sub>v</sub>		h   t		
		[C <sub>p</sub>   c]				

ukamwambie yule maskini akenda atukatie kuni sisi, wantazama

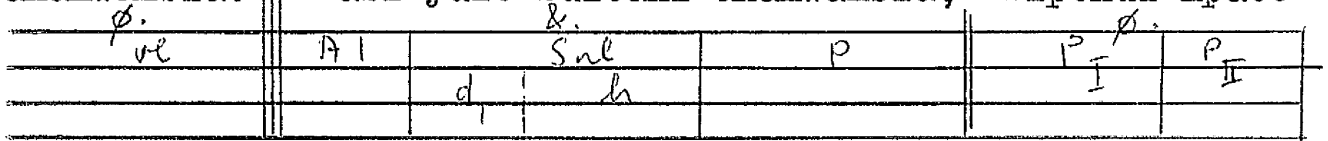
<sup>φx.</sup> P <sub>I</sub>	C <sub>nl</sub>	<sup>&amp;x.</sup> vl	<sup>φβx</sup> P	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub>	P
	d <sub>1</sub>   h					

na macho tu. Kwani wapenda sisi tupate taabu, sisi mama zako?

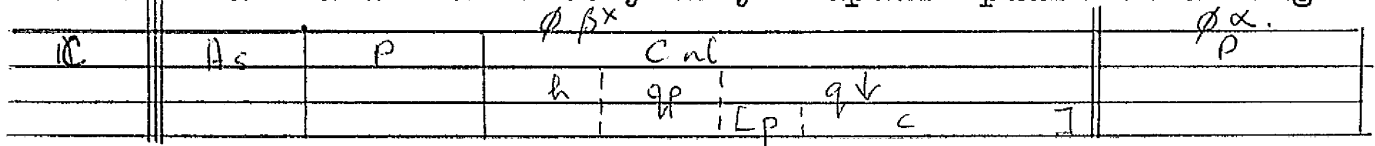
<sup>φ.</sup> A <sub>nl</sub>	A	A <sub>I</sub>	<sup>&amp;.</sup> P <sub>I</sub>	<sup>&amp;.</sup> CS=	<sup>φβx</sup> P <sub>I</sub>	C	=CS=	=CS <sub>nl</sub>
p   c								h   q <sub>p</sub>



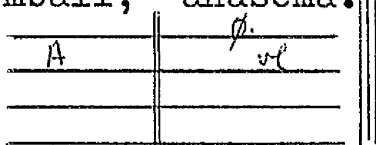
anamwambia. || Basi yule Sultani akanwambia, "Sipendi mpate



taabu. || Kama analeta mambo yake ya kupuuzi-puuzi nitamfungia<sup>mbul</sup>



mbali," anasema. ||



So there is an old crone lives around there, and she comes to that place. When she comes: 'Hi there,' 'Come in'. Now that child of his is called Kibwana, the one he sired. He's called Kibwana maskini himself - since his father's name is Maskini, he is called Maskini. The woman comes. 'I hear your wife has had a child, Mbwana, Kibwana.' He says to her, 'Uhuh, my wife has borne a child, Kibwana.' 'Well then, he's Kibwana who, Maskini?' That's it then, it was Kibwana Maskini. Then the woman goes in and picks up the child: 'Oh, Kibwana Maskini, Kibwana Maskini!' Then she says to his wife, she says, 'Ah sister, what a life this is', the old crone says to his wife. 'Don't you think it's awful? You are all in difficulties and your husband seems to have left his job with the firewood. What do you eat, you folk? Come on, tell me. Once your husband would go for firewood and when he came back that was when he would get cash selling the wood and go and buy flour. ---- left off going for firewood for nearly six months, what do you eat?' The wife says to her, 'Ah, sister, we eat just anyhow, it's hard, for today I got greenstuff, other days I go out with my child and pick greens out of doors, and we come back and go to bed on that.' 'Ah, what a hard life. Well when your husband comes, say to him tomorrow, "Get off after firewood". She said

'All right, I'll tell him'. 'Well, goodbye Kibwana.'  
The child is handsome now. So she waits, they wait. Time goes by. The wife tells her husband. He says, 'Very well.' They wait again. They go on just the same. Time goes by, time goes by.

When three months are up the woman returns. 'Goodness, what did I say to you that day, and up to now I don't see your husband going for firewood, and I see he looks well these days, he's in good spirits, he's getting a paunch these days, maybe you folks have some money.' She is told, 'Us have money - where could we get it, sister? But that's how people are, if a man is in want, if he dies right there in his own home, at once it will appear that he's rich, whereas really he's very poor'. She says, 'Oh, don't tell me. But say, granddaughter - I am just your grandmother, as it were,' she says to her, 'Tell me, my grandchild, if you have some money, you folk, well if you have money, then help me, and I - don't you think of me as like your own mother, eh? Wouldn't it be a great joy in heaven if you helped me? And I'll tell you what, God will make you - er, I will make you a potion and you will have another child, that's what. Tell me now.' I say! The wife says to her, 'If I tell my husband about this matter of the potion, he will beat me. What's more he will divorce me, and I want my husband and I to live together.' So she says to her,

'All right, it doesn't matter.' She went off. Now the husband, whenever he got up in the morning, would sit there in his scruffy old chair. So time went by. Time went by until the old hag went to the sultan and said to him, 'That Maskini, he's a fine one, he is. Whenever you go by you can see him sitting on the porch doing nothing, he's not interested in anything, and as for firewood these days, he won't go for it. There's a shortage of firewood in the town, lord sultan, and we want you to go to that Maskini and make him go and cut us firewood, see him with your own eyes. What, do you want us to be in difficulties, we your mothers?' she says to him. Then the sultan says to her, 'I don't want you to be in difficulties. If he is playing the fool I shall find him out,' he says.

List of Symbols.

Boundaries between units are symbolised thus:

	=	sentence
	=	clause
	=	group
:	=	(in texts only) element of group structure (word, not necessarily orthographic word)
« »	=	interpolated clause
< >	=	interpolated group
[ ]	=	rank-shifted clause
[ ]	=	rank-shifted group

Clause relationships are symbolised thus:

&	=	linked
∅	=	unlinked
α β	=	dependence
=	=	interdependence

Classes of clause are symbolised thus:

.	=	declarative
!	=	imperative
?	=	interrogative
-	=	minor
,	=	suppositional
×	=	conditioning
+	=	additioning
"	=	reporting

Group relationships are symbolised thus:

S	=	subject
P	=	predicator (P <sub>I</sub> , P <sub>II</sub> ... = in phase)
C	=	complement (C <sub>1</sub> , C <sub>2</sub> ...)

A = Adjunct (A:, :A = in phase)  
R = referent ( $R_s$ ,  $R_c$  ...)  
CS = complement-subject (both simultaneously,  
where more than one P occurs)  
S/C = neutral as to S or C

Classes of groups are symbolised thus:

nl = nominal  
vl = verbal  
al = adverbial  
cl = copula  
= = = apposition  
= = reduplication  
l = linking adjunct  
s = subordinating adjunct  
z = noise, ejaculation, unfinished or obscured item

Word relationships are symbolised thus:

In nominal groups:

h = head  
 $\bar{h}$  = coordinate head  
 $d_1, d_2$  = deictics  
qh = numeral qualifier  
qp = possessive qualifier  
qd = demonstrative qualifier  
qe = epithet qualifier  
qv = verbal qualifier  
da = adverbial deictic  
qa = adverbial qualifier  
sm = sub-modifier  
l = linker

In adverbial groups:

p = prepositional  
c = complement

In verbal groups:

x = auxiliary  
m = main

General symbols:

? = interrogative unit  
↓ = rank-shifted unit  
\* = marked unit  
O = unmarked unit  
--- --- = discontinuous unit

Phonemic symbols

⋮ = end of tone group  
+ above syllable = highest point of tone-group  
' above syllable = tonic of 'final' class of tone-group  
- above syllable(s) = tonic of 'non final' class of  
tone-group

Conclusion.

Any value this thesis has in itself arises out of the fact that an attempt has been made to describe Swahili structures above word level systematically. Earlier works on Swahili have tended to concentrate on word structure and not to deal systematically with syntax. The thesis shows what an overall description of Swahili in a consistent theoretical framework (that of "Scale and Category") would look like and that such a description is feasible.

Sentence structure can be described by using three systems of clause relationship: linkage; dependence; marking. Dependence has three terms: interdependent; dependent; independent. Linkage marking have two: linked; unlinked; Marked: unmarked. Clause structure can be described as having 5 elements: S (subject); P (predicator); C (complement); A (adjunct); R (referent). More delicate sub-divisions give  $P_I$ ,  $P_{II}$  ...; various secondary units of A;  $R_S$ ,  $R_P$ ,  $R_A$  and  $R_R$ .  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are well established;  $C_3$  may emerge after further work. There is a possibility also of the emergence of  $S_2$ . A system of marking at clause rank is seen to be closely tied up with intonation. The nominal group yields three primary units d(deictic), h(head), q(qualifier) and a large number of secondary units, particularly at q, where sequence is



seen to be important. The adverbial group yields two units of structure: p(prepositional) and c(complement), with sub-classes at these places. The verbal group also has two units: x(auxiliary) and m(main).

In addition, the thesis shows up the gaps in our knowledge about the language, and indicates directions for further research. A few of these problems have been investigated, such as the question of sequence of items; the relationship between sequence and intonation; and the number of units in clause structure. It is in the exploration of these points as well as in the description of Swahili within an overall framework that the interest and the originality of the work lies.